

Orthodox Eastern Church, Russian. Patriarch.



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1972

1

«ДЕВА ДНЕСЬ...»

А. Д. КАСТАЛЬСКИЙ

Де-ва днесь Прв-су-ще-ствен-на-го раж-да-ет, и зе-мля ве-ртел Не-при-ступ-но-му при-но-сит: а-нгле-ли спа-стырь-ми сла-во-слова, вят, во-лсви же со зве-здо-ю пу-те-ше-ству-ют. Нас бо ра-ди ро-ди-ся от-ро-ча мла-до пре-ве-ч-ный Бог. пре-ве-ч-ный Бог.

About this song see on p. 78.

To the Editor of "The Journal
of the Moscow Patriarchate"

Please permit the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR and me personally to convey through your Journal our thanks to the bishops and other officials of the Orthodox Church who have sent the Council their congratulations in connection with the 54th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Chairman of the Council
for Religious Affairs
under the Council of
Ministers of the USSR
V. KUROYEDOV

November 9, 1971

On the pages of our Church journal
I would like to express my heartfelt

thanks to all bishops, priests, monks, nuns and faithful children of the Russian Orthodox Church at home and abroad, and to all officials of Orthodox and non-Orthodox Churches and societies, and also to the private individuals who have sent me greetings this Christmastide and good wishes for the New Year of 1972.

In the acceptable New Year of the Lord (Lk. 4, 19) it is with a feeling of sincere gratitude that I in my turn wish all those who have sent me Christmas and New Year greetings good health and successful results in their labours and call down upon them the peace and the blessing of God.

PIMEN
Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia

Christmas
1971/72
Moscow

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CHRISTMAS GREETING
from His Holiness Patriarch PIMEN
of Moscow and All Russia
to the Primates of the Churches

To His Holiness ATHENAGORAS, Archbishop
of Constantinople the New Rome, Ecumenical Patriarch

Your Holiness, Beloved in the Lord,
Most Holy Lord Bishop!

We cordially greet Your Holiness
on this great festival of the Nativity
of Christ.

Today "The Word was made flesh"
(Jn. 1,14) for the salvation of mankind
"for God sent not His Son into the
world to condemn the world; but that
the world through Him might be saved"
(Jn. 3,17).

The peace proclaimed by the angels
(Lk. 2,14) is the foundation of the
Kingdom of God on earth, which is
"righteousness, and peace, and joy in
the Holy Ghost" (Rom. 14, 17). The
Lord has brought that life to the earth
which was with the Father before all
worlds (Jn. 1, 2), and this is why at
this season "The angels rejoice in the
heavens and men on earth rejoice." God
is with us, and we are with God. God
has become man and man has become
partaker of the divine nature (2 Pet.
1, 4). God has come down to the earth
and man from the earth mounts up into
heaven and this is why, on this great
day, we experience so feelingly in our
hearts the mystery of God's love, re-
vealed to us in Bethlehem and bringing
good tidings to the world.

The saving event of the incarnation
of God reminds us of our vocation to
serve Christ and His Church with pro-
found devotion, to increase love and fra-
ternity in the world. By the will of God
having accepted the lot of Patriarchal
service, we have at the same time

accepted that immeasurably responsible
task, responsible both to God and to
man, which was shouldered by the great
primates of the Russian Church who
have gone on before us. The basic
characteristic feature of the work of our
blessed predecessors on the Holy Patri-
archal Throne of All Russia was their
zealous service they rendered to Church
and Motherland. The strengthening of
Christian brotherhood and "the ministry
of reconciliation" (2 Cor. 5, 18). All
this has become the object of our fervent
care and solicitude.

We have borne witness in our Mis-
sive of Notification to the Primates of
our brother Local Orthodox Churches on
the occasion of our enthronement as
Patriarch that we consider it our duty
to watch over the unity of the Holy
Orthodox Church and to work in the
spirit of love for the confirmation and
perfectionment of Orthodox cooperation.
We repeat this and assure you again
that to observe the interests of Holy
Orthodoxy will be our first and undevi-
ating policy.

At the same time we consider the
development and strengthening of ecu-
menical ties with Churches of other
professions to be an integral part of our
ministry, as it is also to bear witness
to the truths of Holy Orthodoxy and to
the experience of our ecclesiastical life
before divided Christianity, to cooperate
with them in the search for ways and
means to restore the unity of the faith
and to join our efforts with theirs in

our labours for the welfare of the whole of mankind.

To turn to problems which, at the present moment, are an object of concern to us, we consider it our duty as Primate to draw the attention of Your Holiness to the still persisting and still unhealed Karlowitz schism, the upholders of which call themselves "The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad." We note with satisfaction the strictly canonical approach to this "apostate hoard" (III Ecumenical Council, Cl. I) on the part of the majority of Local Orthodox Churches although, to our regret, we are bound to note that in certain Orthodox brother Churches we have observed cases of common prayer with representatives of this schism. It becomes obvious that the above-named group of schismatics have called down judgement upon themselves, for their persistence in schism have put them in a position which can be defined as being in a state of heresy (Basil the Great, Canon I). We consider that at the present time the supporters of the Karlowitz schism are becoming something in the nature of a sect with political implications. The recent Venerable Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church unanimously decided to put into effect the necessary canonical sanctions in relation to the Karlowitz schism and to its unrepentant adherents, so that the Church might receive a clear and lawful definition of it.

The evangelical commandment to love one another (Jn. 15, 12) finds lofty expression in our days in the establishment, confirmation and defence of peace. In the contemporary period, pregnant with many disturbing developments in the international situation, our fixed attention cannot but be drawn to such phenomena in the world as the growing armaments race, the numerous casualties and the devastating suffering of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the severe trials now falling on the lot of the Arab peoples in the Holy Land, and also the inhuman actions of the advocates of racial discrimination, neo-colonialism and apartheid in the countries of Africa and the Americas.

An abundant source of suffering on the Indian subcontinent is today the problem of the refugees from East Pakistan and the Indo-Pakistani military conflict which entails numerous casualties and much destruction and causes us profound concern and sorrow. We ardently pray that peace may be restored and urgently call for an immediate peaceful solution of all points at issue.

At the same time, we note with joy and satisfaction the favourable changes in international life which offer hope of a relaxation of tension. First and foremost we are thinking of the recently-concluded treaties referring to the regulation of the status quo in Europe and providing a basis for the development of cooperation under favourable conditions between all the peoples of Europe without exception. We are inspired also by the successful preparations for the calling of a general European conference which will also further the cause of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

In this connection we consider the present process of the unification of the efforts of all peace-loving forces including those of the Christian Churches and the followers of other religions in their service of the daily needs of mankind to be a task of exceptional importance.

Desirous of preserving with Your Holiness "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph. 4, 3), as we send you our Christmas greetings we sincerely wish that the Lord in His infinite mercy might make the New Year a year of peace and general plenty.

May the brotherly love we so desire thrive amongst us even as it was truly bequeathed to us in the Good Tidings of the Gospel of Christ, the Giver of Life, and may the Lord who entereth the world grant you fulness of strength and His unfailing help in Your service as Primate of the Holy Church.

**Your Holiness's devoted servant
in Christ,**

**Patriarch PIMEN
of Moscow and All Russia**

Christmas Day 1971-72

His Holiness the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia addressed similar Christmas Greetings to the Heads of the Orthodox Churches:

His Beatitude **NICHOLAS VI**, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and All Africa.

His Beatitude **ELIAS IV**, Patriarch of Antioch the Great and All the East.

His Beatitude **BENEDICT I**, Patriarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem and All Palestine.

His Holiness and Beatitude **EFREM II**, the Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia, Archbishop of Mtsheta and Tbilisi.

His Holiness **GERMAN**, Archbishop of Pech, Metropolitan of Belgrade and Karlowitz, the Serbian Patriarch.

His Beatitude **JUSTINIAN**, Patriarch of All Roumania, Locum Tenens of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Metropolitan of Ungro-Valachia, Archbishop of Bucharest.

His Holiness **MAKSIM**, Patriarch of Bulgaria.

His Beatitude **MAKARIOS**, Archbishop of Nicosia, Justinia and All Cyprus.

His Beatitude **IERONIMOS**, Archbishop of Athens and All Hellas.

His Beatitude **DAMIAN**, Metropolitan of Tirana and Durres, Archbishop of All Albania.

His Beatitude **VASILIIY**, Metropolitan of Warsaw and All Poland.

His Beatitude **DOROTEJ**, Metropolitan of Prague and All Czechoslovakia.

His Beatitude **IRINEY**, Archbishop of New York, Metropolitan of All America and Canada.

The Most Reverend **GRIGORIOS II**, Archbishop of Sinai and Raifa.

The Most Reverend **PAVEL**, Archbishop of Karelia and All Finland.

The Most Reverend **VLADIMIR**, Archbishop of Tokyo, Metropolitan of All Japan.

His Holiness Patriarch PIMEN of Moscow and All Russia exchanged Christmas greetings with the Most Reverend NIKODIM, the Old Believers' Archbishop of Moscow and all Russia.

His Holiness Patriarch PIMEN of Moscow and All Russia sent Christmas greetings to the Heads of the Christian Churches:

His Holiness Pope **PAUL VI**.

His Holiness **VAZGEN I**, Patriarch-Catholicos of all Armenians.

His Holiness **SHENUDA III**, Pope of Alexandria, Patriarch of Atubia, Jerusalem and Nubia.

His Holiness Abuna **THEOPHILOS**, Patriarch of Ethiopia.

His Beatitude the Catholicos of the East **VASILIOS OUGEN I**.

His Holiness Patriarch Mar **JAKOVOS III** of Antioch and All the East.

His Grace Dr. **MICHAEL RAMSAY**, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of All England.

His Grace the Bishop-President of the Episcopal Church of the USA Dr. **JOHN I. HINNECE**.

His Grace Dr. **MARINUS KOK**, Archbishop of Utrecht.

The General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, Dr. **EUGENE CARSON BLAKE**.



The Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia EFREM II Visits the Trinity-St.Sergius Lavra

On November 13, 1971, the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra was visited by His Holiness and Beatitude Efrem II, Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia. The Georgian Primate prayed at the shrine of St. Sergius, attended the All-Night Vigil and on Sunday, November 14, the Divine Liturgy in the Refectory Church of St. Sergius, and prayed at the tomb of His Holiness Patriarch Aleksiy.

On Saturday the Catholicos-Patriarch was received by His Holiness Pimen,

Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, in the patriarchal suite at the Lavra, arrived on Sunday, together with Patriarch Pimen, he shared the board of the monks in the refectory of the monastery.

The Saint's Day of His Beatitude Patriarch JUSTINIAN of All Roumania

On the occasion of the Saint's Day of His Holiness Justinian, Patriarch of All Roumania, His Holiness the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Pimen sent His Beatitude a telegram congratulations.

The Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations Metropolitan

an Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod and the Department's Vice-Chairman, Archbishop Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev, also sent their congratulations to Patriarch Justinian.

A Ceremony at the Alexandrian Patriarchate

On November 21, 1971, in Alexandria, there took place the ceremony of the consecration of the new administrative building of the Alexandrian Patriarchate. A delegation from the Russian Orthodox Church took part in the ceremony. It consisted of Bishop Germogen of Vilna and Lithuania, ad interim representative of the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia to the Patriarchal Throne of Antioch, and Archbishop Anatoliy Kaznovetsky, Rector of the Russian Church of St. Alexander Nevskiy in Alexandria. At the banquet given on the day of the ceremony in the Marine Club in Alexandria by His Beatitude Nicholas VI, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and All Africa, Bishop Germogen read out a message from His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, addressed to the Primate of the Alexandrian Church on the occasion of the ceremony.

The Enthronement of the New Head of the Coptic Church

On November 14, 1971, in the Cathedral of the Holy Apostle St. Mark in Cairo, there took place the enthronement of the new Head of the Coptic Church, His Holiness Shenuda III. Present at the ceremony was a delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church consisting of Bishop Germogen of Vilna and Lithuania, ad interim representative of His Holiness the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia to the Patriarchal Throne of Antioch, and Archbishop Anatoliy Kaznovetsky, Rector of the Russian Church of St. Alexander Nevskiy in Alexandria. On the day of his enthronement, His Holiness Patriarch Shenuda III held a reception in the Coptic Club of Cairo. Bishop Germogen and Father Kaznovetsky were among the guests. At the reception Bishop Ger-

gen read out a message of greetings from His Holiness Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia to Patriarch Shenuda III and conveyed to the Head of the Coptic Church the congratulations of the Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod.

A DELEGATION OF THE EVANGELICAL-LUTHERAN CHURCH OF FINLAND VISITS THE SOVIET UNION

At the invitation of the Moscow Patriarchate from December 12 to 20, 1971, a delegation of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland was staying in the Soviet Union to take part in a theological discussion with representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The delegation consisted of Archbishop Dr. Martti Simoëkki (the head of the delegation); Dr. Aymo, T. Nikolaynen, Professor of Holy Scriptures (New Testament) at Helsinki University; Archbishop Samuel Lehtonen, Licentiate in Theology, the Rector of the parish of Topiola; Dr. Kalevi Toivainen, Doctor of Dogmatic Theology at the University of Helsinki, director of the Study Centre; Maunu Sinnemäki, Licentiate in Theology, secretary to the Archbishop, secretary to the Church's Commission for Foreign Affairs. The delegation brought in its own specialist-consultant, Autti Saarlo, Master of Political Science.

On their arrival in Moscow at Leningrad Station the delegation was met by Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod, the Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate; Archbishop Filaret of Dmitrov, Rector of the Moscow Theological Academy; B. S. Kudinkin, of the Department of External Church Relations, and N. D. Medvedov, a lecturer at the Leningrad Theological Academy. After a short rest at the Sovetskaya Hotel the guests, accompanied by Archbishop Filaret, arrived at the Cathedral of the Epiphany where they attended the Divine Liturgy, celebrated by His Holiness Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia. During the singing of the anthem while Holy Communion was being administered the members of the delegation were conducted into the Sanctuary and presented to His Holiness who extended them a cordial welcome and gave Archbishop Martti Simoëkki a prosphora.

On that same day the delegation left for the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra in Zagorsk to take part in talks with theologians of the Russian Orthodox Church. That evening in the reception hall of the Lavra's bell-tower took place the official opening of the theological conference.

On December 13, in the Lavra's Church of the Holy Spirit, the guests celebrated the Eucharist after the Lutheran rite and took Communion.

Those Orthodox who were taking part in the talks also attended the service. At the working sessions for that day both sides read papers on the subject of the Eucharist and then discussed them.

On December 14, on the day of St. Philaretus the Merciful († 792), the delegation from Finland attended the Divine Liturgy in the Academy Church which was celebrated on the occasion of his Saint's Day by the Rector of the Academy Archbishop Filaret of Dmitrov. During the Liturgy Archbishop Filaret ordained deacon Vasilii Fonchenkov, a fourth-year student of the Moscow Theological Academy, and priest Vladimir Yevdokimov, a fourth-year student of the Moscow Theological Seminary. During the Liturgy the Orthodox taking part in the talks received the Holy Sacrament.

At the plenary meetings members of the delegations of both Churches read papers on a second theme: on justice and the use of force in the cause of establishing peace on earth. In the evening of that same day the guests were present at a traditional Academy evening. Archbishop Filaret introduced those taking part in the discussions to the professors, lecturers, and students foregathered in the Academy's Assembly Hall. Then Archbishop Dr. Martti Simoëkki addressed the company and, greeting them in the name of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland, of all the people of Finland, and personally from the President of Finland Mr. Urho Kekkonen. In honour of the distinguished guests, the academy choir, conducted by Father Andrey Shirinkin, gave a concert of sacred songs. The festive evening was completed by a fraternal meal shared by the Finnish delegation.

On December 15, in the intervals between discussions, the guests were shown round the Lavra and visited the Cathedral of the Trinity, where the remains of St. Sergius are enshrined, and the tomb of His Holiness Patriarch Aleksiy. In the afternoon the delegation was received in the Academy by Archbishop Filaret, the Rector, and the Inspector of the Moscow Theological Academy Dotsent-Archimandrite Simon Novikov and other members of the Academy staff. The guests were presented with the Moscow Patriarchate's publication "Theological Studies", medals struck to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Moscow Theological Academy, and other souvenirs of their visit. That evening in the Academy cinema-room those taking part in the discussions saw the documentary film "The Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, 1971".

On December 16 at the final session the conference delegates discussed and unanimously agreed the protocol.

After the conclusion of the conference the guests returned to Moscow. His Holiness Patriarch Pimen held a reception in honour of the delegation of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church at his residence at which there were present the permanent members of the Holy Synod Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod, Metropolitan Aleksiy of Tallinn and Estonia, Metropolitan Serafim of Krutitsy and Kolomna, and also Archbishop Filaret of Dmitrov, Bishop Mikhail of Astrakhan and Enotayevsk, and responsible officials of the Synodal institutions of the Moscow Patriarchate. Amongst those

invited to the reception was the Vice-Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR V. G. Furov and the Finnish Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the USSR, His Excellency Mr. Bjorn-Olof Georg Alholm. During the reception His Holiness Patriarch Pimen made a speech of welcome to his guests. In answering speech, Archbishop Dr. Martti Simoëkki gave a high appreciation of the development in brotherly relations between the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland and the Russian Orthodox Church. With satisfaction he noted the successful conclusion of the theological talks in Zagorsk and expressed the hope that it would be possible to continue the discussions which were useful for the both Churches ecumenically helpful, and contributed to friendly relations between our peoples and to the confirmation of peace. Archbishop Martti Simoëkki presented His Holiness with a beautifully executed modern reproduction of a unique ancient manuscript in the Finnish language: a manual of the faith of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church.

On the following day, December 17, the delegation visited the Novodevichiy Monastery, now preserved as an ancient monument by the state but no longer in use as a convent, and attended the Liturgy celebrated by Archbishop Pitirim of Volokolamsk at the Church of the Dormition which is open to believers in the precinct of the great old fortress-monastery. After the service Archbishop Pitirim, the Chairman of the Publishing Department of the Moscow Patriarchate, received the delegation and its leader Archbishop Dr. Martti Simoëkki.

On the same day the delegation visited the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian-Baptists.

That evening a reception was arranged by His Excellency the Finnish Ambassador in honour of the Finnish delegation at which, from the Russian Orthodox Church were present the permanent members of the Holy Synod Metropolitan Aleksiy of Tallinn and Estonia, Metropolitan Serafim of Krutitsy and Kolomna, Archbishop Filaret of Dmitrov, Bishop Mikhail of Astrakhan and Enotayevsk and other members of the Orthodox delegation, and from the All-Union Evangelical Christian-Baptists, Chairman of the Council, I. G. Ivanov. Another guest at the reception was the Vice-Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, V. G. Furov. The Ambassador made a speech of welcome to the assembled company and Metropolitan Aleksiy of Tallinn and Estonia spoke in reply.

On the morning of December 18, the delegation arrived in Leningrad. After a short rest one of the guests, Professor Dr. Aimo T. Niko-lainen, delivered a lecture, in which he gave an exegetical analysis of vv. 21-23 of the 8th Chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, at the Leningrad Theological Academy.

At 2 p. m. the delegation attended the nomination of a new Bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church — Archimandrite Serafim Rodionov, Rector of the Church of the Resurrection of Christ in the city of Zürich. The rite of nomination was conducted by His Holiness Patriarch Pimen, Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and

Novgorod, Archbishop Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev and Bishop Meliton of Tikhvin.

On the eve of the feast of St. Nicholas, His Holiness Patriarch Pimen, together with the same most reverend hierarchs, kept a solemn Vigil in the Cathedral of St. Nicholas and the Epiphany, and on the day of the feast itself — December 19th — celebrated the Holy Liturgy and the consecration of Archimandrite Serafim. The delegation from Finland was present at all these services.

After the Liturgy, Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod organised a reception in honour of His Holiness Patriarch Pimen at which the members of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland were also present. At the reception His Holiness Patriarch Pimen, Metropolitan Nikodim, Archbishop Dr. Martti Simoëki and the Finnish Consul-General Mr. Arvo Ruetkonen all made good-will speeches.

That same day the Consul-General gave a reception in honour of the delegation to which were invited His Holiness Patriarch Pimen, Metropolitan Nikodim and representatives of the Leningrad Theological schools and of the clergy of the Leningrad diocese.

During their stay in Moscow and Leningrad the visitors saw many churches and places of historical and cultural interest.

On December 20 the delegation of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland left for home. At the Finland Station in Leningrad the guests were seen off by Bishop Meliton of Tikhvin, Rector of the Theological Academy and by the Dean of the patriarchal parishes in Finland, Archpriest Igor Raune.

The Meeting of the Presidium of the Advisory Committee of the Conference of European Churches

From November 21 to 25, 1971, in Notre Dame du Rucasse in Marseilles (France), the Presidium of the Advisory Committee of the Conference of European Churches met for discussions. Participants in the meeting from the Russian Orthodox Church were members of the Presidium of the Conference of European Churches, Metropolitan Aleksey of Tallinn and Estonia, Archpriest Pavel Sokolovsky, Rector of the Church of the Resurrection in Sokolniki in Moscow, and N. A. Zabolotsky, a Professor of the Leningrad Theological Academy. Professor Zabolotsky read a paper on the fundamental theme of the meeting: "Truth, justice and peace in contemporary Europe, from the point of view of the Gospel". Those present at the meeting discussed the results of the CEC assembly "Nyborg-VI" and reviewed current tasks on the Conference's agenda.

Metropolitan Aleksey of Tallinn and Estonia was re-elected Vice-President of the Presidium and of the Advisory Committee of CEC.

The meeting adopted a communiqué stating that the Presidium and the Advisory Committee of the Conference of European Churches were happy to record continuing improvement in relations between European peoples at the present time, and welcomed contemporary political efforts in Europe aimed at relieving tension, advancing along the road to disarmament and the elimination of the disturbing after-effects of World War II, aims which should, for example, be furthered by the forthcoming conference on European security, the quadrilateral agreement on Berlin, the bilateral agreements between West Germany and the USSR and the People's Republic of Poland.

Participants in the meeting expressed the hope that the situation in Northern Ireland and the conflict between India and Pakistan would find peaceful and just solutions. Special mention was made of the presence of observers from the Roman Catholic Church (the Archbishop of Marseilles, Monseigneur Roger Etchegaray, Chairman of the Conference of Catholic Bishops of Europe, and Monseigneur Jean-François Arrighi, a representative of the Secretariat for Christian Unity), and also of the closer contacts established between the Conference of Catholic Bishops of Europe and the Conference of European Churches.

The conclusion of the communiqué reads: "The Conference of European Churches hopes that our Lord Jesus Christ will grant it the opportunity to glorify Him by prayer and action for peace and brotherhood between the peoples of Europe and throughout the world".

On November 24 the Deputy Mayor of Marseilles held a reception at the City Hall in honour of the participants in the meeting of the Presidium and Advisory Committee of CEC.

On November 25 the Archbishop of Marseilles Monseigneur Roger Etchegaray held a reception for the members of the Presidium in the precincts of the Bishop's residence.

While the meetings were in session participants were the guests of the Federation of Protestants in France and of their President Pastor Jacques Maury.

On November 28 in the Patriarchal Church of the Three Holy Hierarchs in the Russian Orthodox *podvorye* in Paris Metropolitan Aleksey celebrated the Divine Liturgy, at the end of which he preached a hortatory sermon. Bishop Pierre of Korsun accorded a warm welcome to the representatives of the Mother-Church.

On November 29 in Paris there was a meeting between Metropolitan Antony of Surozh, Patri-

Podvorye. See No. 1, 1971, p. 47.

archal Exarch in Western Europe and Metropolitan Aleksiy of Tallinn and Estonia. Metropolitan Antony accompanied Metropolitan Aleksiy on a visit to the rebuilt Holy Trinity Church in Paris and the Hermitage of the Holy Spirit.

Audiences Granted by His Holiness the Patriarch

On November 16, 1971, His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, received Signora L. L. Simanskaya (Italy). Present at the reception was Archbishop Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev, Vice-Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate.

On November 23, 1971, His Holiness Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia received His Excellency the French Ambassador to the Soviet Union Monsieur Roger Seydoux, at the Ambassador's own request. Present at the reception was Archbishop Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev.

ON THE ELECTION OF G. GOETHING As Chairman of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic

**To the President
of the Christian-Democratic Union
of Germany,**

HERR GERALD GOETHING.

I send you my hearty congratulations in connection with your election to the high service of your people and your country and wish you health and strength in full measure. I pray God to help you in your fruitful work of developing brotherly unity and cooperation between our countries and in the blessed task of reconciling mankind.

Metropolitan NIKODIM

December 3, 1971

DIPLOMATIC RECEPTIONS

On November 15, 1971, the Belgian Ambassador to the Soviet Union His Excellency Monsieur Jaques Deshan held a reception on the occasion of a national holiday. Amongst those invited to the reception were Archbishop Pitirim of Volokolamsk, Chairman of the Publishing Department of the Moscow Patriarchate, and Archbishop Filaret of Dmitrov, Rector of the Moscow Theological Academy.

On November 22, 1971, the Ambassador of the Republic of Lebanon to the USSR His Excellency Mr. Naim Amiuni organised a reception in honour of a national holiday — Independence Day. Among those present were Archbishop Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev, Vice-Chairman of the Department for External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, and Archbishop Filaret of Dmitrov, Rector of the Moscow Theological Academy.

CURRENT EVENTS

On November 22, 1971, Archbishop Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev, Vice-Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, received Arthur Schneider, one of the leaders of the organisation "The Appeal to Conscience Fund" (USA), at his office in the precincts of the Moscow Patriarchate.

On November 22, 1971, V. A. Chukalov, previously occupying an official position as a member of the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, left for Berlin to take up his new duties as Chancellor of the Patriarchal Exarchate in Central Europe.

On November 26, 1971, Archbishop Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev received at his office Dr. Eric Staples, a Canon of the Anglican Church, chaplain to the Anglican community in Helsinki, and Mr. Garrett, advisor to the British Embassy in the Soviet Union, who accompanied him.

On December 3, 1971, at the regular session of the Russian Palestine Society of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR Archbishop Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev, Vice-Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, was elected to membership of that Society.



The Activities of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Cause of Peace

The Report
of the Metropolitan ALEKSIY
of Tallinn and Estonia
May 31, 1971

Your Holinesses, Your Beatitudes, Your Graces.
Reverend Fathers and Brothers! Dear guests!

As you know, in the service and witness of the Russian Orthodox Church great importance is attached to efforts in the cause of world peace. These efforts are in the interest of all freedom-loving peoples and support the peaceable policy pursued by the Soviet state, a policy wholeheartedly approved by our Church, Her episcopate, clergy and laity. Our activities in this field stem from the holy commandments given to the people of the Old Testament through their prophet Moses (Deut. 6,5 and Lev. 19,18) and to the people of the New Testament by Christ Himself: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.... Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Mt. 22, 37, 39; Mk. 12, 30, 31; Lk. 10, 27). Our efforts in the cause of peace are neither more nor less than the application of these commandments to the concrete demands of our times. To love God is—first and foremost—to keep His commandments (Jn. 14, 15). "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God" (Mt. 5, 9), said Christ in the Sermon on the Mount. It is this behest of our Lord's that lies at the basis of all Christian activities in the cause of peace.

What is the nature of this peace towards which we so earnestly aspire? In one of his talks with his disciples Christ said: "...have peace one with another" (Mk. 9,50). In recording this, St. Mark used the Greek word εἰρηνεύετε

("have peace"), which stems from the same root as the Greek word εἰρήνη ("peace"), designating both inner and outer peace, active effort to preserve peace, the constant being in a state of peace. In speaking of outer peace we mean peaceful relations among human beings: peace in the family, in the nation, among nations.

It is a remarkable fact that the idea of preserving peace in human society is met with again and again in the epistles of the Apostles. St. Paul wrote: "God hath called us to peace" (1 Cor. 7,15), and he goes on: "Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace..." (Rom. 14, 19). St. Peter, also, calls upon us to "eschew evil and do good"; to "seek peace and ensue it" (1 Pet. 3, 10, 11). Thus the leaders of the Apostles not only affirmed the importance of peace but adjured their followers to work toward the achieving of it.

It goes without saying that anyone who devotes his efforts to the establishment of peace on earth must do so in a spirit of good will that will enable him to overcome the many difficulties encountered on the path. The concepts of peace and of good will towards men are bound by inseverable ties. Remember the angels' hymn at the time of Christ's Nativity: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men" (Lk. 2, 14). Is not the good will for peace a manifestation of God's great commandment to love one's neighbour? Who do we mean when we say "our neighbour"? The answer is supplied by St. Paul: "Let no man seek his own, but every man *another's* wealth" (1 Cor. 10, 24). "Another," that is any other: this is that "neighbour" whom we are to serve "for his good to edification" (Rom. 15, 2). This, however, does not mean that we should reconcile ourselves to spreaders of falsehood and breakers of the peace. Certainly not. That would be the equivalent of conniving at sin. Not for nothing did St. Paul write to his pupil Timothy: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, *for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness*" (2 Tim. 3, 16). Further he enjoins us: "...putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour" (Eph. 4, 25). Serving in the cause of peace means fighting for peace, achieving it by

all possible means. There is no price too dear to pay for the achieving of peace. "Greater love hath no man than this," said Christ at the Last Supper: "That a man lay down his life for his friends" (Jn. 15, 13).

Returning to the Angels' hymn on the occasion of Christ's Nativity, "Glory to God in the Highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men" (Lk. 2, 14), let us further point out that the concepts of peace and of good will toward men are linked not only to each other but also to the glorifying of God. If we are to do all things "to the glory of God" (1 Cor. 10, 31), not the least of these things is the glorifying of God through the establishment of peace on earth.

I have already said that the Church's service to the cause of peace is carried out according to the concrete demands of the times; it is these demands that determine the form and substance of this service. At the same time, this service is inevitably given within the framework of a definite people, and state, although its final goal is one that embraces the entire world and all humanity. From this emerges the necessity for every Christian devoted to the cause of peace to reconcile his love for his own people and homeland with his desire to achieve the highest good for all peoples and for humanity as a whole.

It is impossible to conceive genuine vigorous Christian love without love of one's native land and people. The Church teaches Christians to love their native land selflessly. Remember the tears shed by our Saviour over Jerusalem, revealing his deep love for the city (Lk. 19, 41-44). Remember St. Paul's grief for his people, for whose salvation he himself was willing to be "accursed from Christ" (Rom. 9, 3). Remember the feats of self-sacrifice for the sake of people and country performed by many Christians and extolled by the Church. The Church of Christ teaches believers that to identify themselves with the whole people and to give all of their strength, even their lives, to furthering the welfare of their countrymen is a sacred form of service.

In other words, patriotism is a natural Christian attitude. At the same time patriotism, as opposed to narrow-minded nationalism, does not render the Christian indifferent to the needs of other nationalities, the first of which is peace. To serve one's country implies contributing to the welfare of other countries and of humanity as a whole, whose fate is inevitably influenced by the manner and degree in which every people and every state fulfils its own high calling. It goes without saying that the fulfillment of this

calling does not permit any state or people to acquire advantages at the expense of any other state or people.

From the first days of its existence, the Russian Orthodox Church has been dedicated to the sacred cause of peace. The devotion of Hermit episcopate, clergy and laity to their country has always been accepted as an intrinsic part of our ecclesiastical life. One has but to recall the role played by our Church in the Kievan period when all forces were directed towards the building up of the Russian state and the terminating of civil war between the Russian princes. In the dark years of Tartar, Swedish and German invasions (XIII to XV cent.) the Russian Orthodox Church helped the people drive out the foreign aggressors and contributed greatly to the uniting of the principalities about Moscow and the strengthening of the Russian state.

In the troublous times at the end of the XVI and beginning of the XVII centuries also, many leaders of the Church devoted themselves selflessly to the freeing of the country from foreign invaders. Among them, let us remember the courage of Iov and Germogen, Patriarchs of Moscow, as well as the nameless monks and townsmen who for sixteen months resisted the siege of the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra by Hetman Sapega and Hetman Lisovsky.

During Napoleon's invasion in 1812 our Church was wholly dedicated to the task of repelling the French hordes and liberating the Motherland.

At the same time we recall with bitterness the inability of many of the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church and some of the clergy to understand the historical necessity of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, in which great numbers of believers participated, or to appreciate the epoch-making significance of the revolution, which liberated the peoples of our country from the yoke of capitalism, opening up free vistas of development and introducing a new period in the history of mankind. However, let it be said to the honour of a number of prominent churchmen (and first of all of Archbishop Sergiy Starogorodsky of Vladimir) that they were able to rise to a correct appreciation of events and took an active part in the difficult process of creating a society of a type without precedent in history. By contributing on an equal footing with all other members of society to the transformation of Russia, which had been a poor, agrarian country, into a great industrial power, Russian believers helped build up that mighty force which, in the days of the Great Patriotic War, crushed the monster of

German nazism and freed the peoples of Europe and all the world from fascist bondage. Scarcely had nazi Germany and her satellites fallen upon our peace-loving country, than Metropolitan Sergiy, then the Locum Tenens of Moscow Patriarchal Throne, called upon all the clergy and the whole body of the faithful to come to the defence of their country. In giving his blessing to those embarking on this heroic feat, Metropolitan Sergiy expressed his firm belief in the victory of the Soviet peoples.

At no time throughout the course of the Great Patriotic War did the Russian Orthodox Church relax its efforts on behalf of victory. The heroism of Metropolitan Aleksiy of Leningrad and Novgorod (later Patriarch Aleksiy), who continued to minister to his flock throughout the entire Leningrad blockade, is now common knowledge. The numerous appeals made by the heads of our Church to the peoples of the Orthodox countries of Greece, Yugoslavia, Roumania and Bulgaria to intensify the struggle against fascism played their part in hastening the day of victory. The Local Council which on 8 September, 1943, elected Metropolitan Sergiy of Moscow and Kolomna to the Patriarchal Throne issued an appeal to Christians throughout the world to help crush fascism and to uproot its savage ideology.

The Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church held on the eve of victory, 2 February, 1945, addressed an appeal to all Christians which read:

"May God grant that humanity at last may eschew the sword as a means of settling disputes. May the Lord bless all of us, brothers in Christ, in our ceaseless struggle for the universal triumph of freedom, truth and righteousness, world without end."

How and by what means has the Russian Orthodox Church served the cause of peace over the last twenty-six years?

Our basic service to the cause of peace always has been and still is our persistent daily prayers that peace may prevail in the hearts of men, and may determine the relations between individuals and nations. Sermons delivered in our churches on the theme of peace represent another element of the constant general effort. Bishops and priests speaking from the ambos* of their churches, took inspiration for their messages from the divine commandment to preach peace and to be peace-makers.

* Ambo—the middle part of the raised portion of the church before the iconostasis which, in Russian Orthodox Churches, serves, among other things, as a pulpit.

The late Patriarch Aleksiy attributed the highest importance to the work of the Church on behalf of peace, and whenever the threat of war arose or armed conflicts occurred, he lifted up his voice in the defence of peace, justice and freedom. At the same time, he rejoiced at every manifestation of good will, whether in the internal life of separate states or in the sphere of international relations which promised to contribute to the consolidation of peace and friendship between the peoples of the world. His Christmas and Easter messages to the episcopate, clergy and laity of the Russian Orthodox Church always touched on vital problems affecting world peace. The episcopate showed and continues to show zeal equal to that of Patriarch Aleksiy in exhorting the clergy and parishioners of their dioceses to take active measures to promote the sacred cause of peace.

Whenever the situation demanded it, Patriarch Aleksiy appealed to the Heads of Local Orthodox and non-Orthodox Churches to collaborate in the defence of peace, with the result that on more than one occasion several Churches came out with combined declarations on critical international problems. We all know (and I shall enlarge on this later) that His Holiness Patriarch Aleksiy organised two peace conferences attended by representatives of all religions in the USSR which were held at the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra, one in 1952, the other in 1969. He was always ready to encourage the participation of bishops, priests and lay members of the Russian Orthodox Church in the work of various interchurch organisations and in religious congresses and conferences called to discuss the Christian contribution to peace on earth; on more than one occasion he himself explained to international audiences the Russian Church's position on current problems connected with the establishment of world peace. These explanations, in addition to the collaboration of representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church with officers of other Christian Churches and associations, did much to encourage the Christian world to unite for more effective activity in defence of world peace.

The interchurch affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church are regulated by the Department of External Church Relations which, from the day of its inception, has accorded the utmost attention to matters of peace. We all know how much time, strength and creative energy His Eminence Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod in his capacity of Head of this Department, a position he has held for over ten years, has devoted to this sacred cause.

I should like to speak of the role played by Church publications in this field, especially by the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, which is always ready to find room for articles devoted to the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church on behalf of world peace and international friendship. In May 1949, a special section of the Journal devoted to the Peace Movement was inaugurated. Similar sections were introduced into the *Pravoslavny Visnik*, organ of the Ukrainian Exarchate, and the *Stimme der Orthodoxie* of the Central European Exarchate.

Sermons, official documents, reports, speeches, and articles relating to problems of international peace as well as information as to the peace-making activities of the Russian Orthodox Church are printed in *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*. Scholarly articles on the theological problems connected with peace-work are included in the periodical symposium "Theological Studies." The ecclesiastical press facilitates the propagation of knowledge of the theory and practice of peace-making, it inspires clergy and laity to do whatever lies within their power for the cause of peace and it promotes the inner unity of all religious fighters for peace.

Obviously the success of the struggle for lasting peace depends upon the united and purposeful efforts of people of good will regardless of their religious, political or philosophical convictions. To further such solidarity the Russian Orthodox Church supports all efforts, Soviet or non-Soviet, directed towards the overcoming of international crises and the consolidation of world peace. Ever since that February day in 1949 when the International Peace Movement was inaugurated, the Russian Orthodox Church has uninterruptedly participated in its work. Suffice it to say that only two weeks ago His Eminence Metropolitan Pimen, Locum Tenens of the Moscow Patriarchal Throne, represented our Church at the Peace Assembly convoked in Budapest by the World Council of Peace. The Church has also taken an active part in the work of the Soviet Peace Committee of which Patriarch Aleksiy was a member until his death and in the work of district and republican peace committees.

An important aspect of the Church's support of the peace movement has been the active part it has played in the work of the Peace Fund, the aim of which is to collect financial contributions to provide funds for the work of voluntary peace organisations. As a member of the Board of the Soviet Peace Fund I can testify to the constant stream of contributions flowing into the fund from voluntary offertories collected from practising Christian people. It

must also be mentioned that the representatives (both lay and clergy) of then Diocesan Board are members of Soviet Peace Fund commissions.

We attribute great importance to the participation of distinguished representatives of our Church in the work of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. Many of our hierarchs take their places on the boards or as members of such societies. By devoting themselves vigorously to these activities they make a significant contribution to the development of friendly relations between our country and the peoples of foreign lands, and thereby to the cause of international peace.

Since the death of Patriarch Aleksiy, his invaluable work in the defence of peace has been carried on by the Locum Tenens, His Eminence Metropolitan Pimen, who in the course of this last year has devoted a great deal of energy and attention to ensure the continued active participation of the Russian Orthodox Church in the peace movement.

Before turning to a consideration of the actual part our Church has taken in the peace movement, I should like to make it clear that we, the episcopate, clergy and laity of the Russian Orthodox Church, citizens of the Soviet Union, are filled with patriotic sentiments for our Soviet motherland that determine our relationship to the society of which we are an integral part, and to that society's aspirations towards the establishment of peace and justice throughout the world. In the address published by His Holiness Patriarch Aleksiy and the Holy Synod on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we read: "Practical experience and activities of Church and State under the new conditions of a socialist society have shown that, notwithstanding the differences of outlook between the believers and non-believers comprising the single Soviet people, a sense of the commonness of the interests of the whole people makes it possible for all citizens, believers and non-believers alike, to regard one another as brothers ready to help one another for the attainment of lofty social aims and to come to each other's aid in times of stress and peril." This circumstance, however, in no way estranges us from members of our Holy Church who are citizens of other states and who hold other views, for all of us are united by the common desire to serve the cause of peace and international friendship.

In this report I shall touch on only the most important activities of the Russian Orthodox Church in the cause of peace.

World War II ended in the total defeat of nazi Germany and militarist Japan. The decisive role played by the Soviet Union in securing the defeat of the axis powers is well known the world over is common knowledge. This victory was won at great cost. Over twenty million Soviet people perished in the war unleashed by the nazis — immortal be their memory and undying our gratitude! We are convinced that the victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War was made possible by the existence of a society in which all power and wealth is in the hands of the people, and in which there is no exploitation of man by man. In certain countries of Eastern, Central and Southern Europe the liberated populations chose to set up People's Democracies, which adopted a firm policy of friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union. However, even before the war was over, there began a sharp deterioration in the international situation. It is no secret that the only great power that emerged from the war considerably economically strengthened was the United States. This encouraged American imperialists to attempt to establish world hegemony from "positions of strength." Had they succeeded, they would have robbed the Soviet people of the fruits of victory and the peoples of Europe of the benefits accruing from their victorious struggle against nazi domination. Our country was faced with the necessity of doing all in its power to defend and make safe the fruits of victory. This marked the beginning of the difficult period known as "the cold war." More and more often voices were heard across the ocean calling for an armed attack on the Soviet Union. The fact that the US was in possession of the atom bomb fired the imagination of rash and foolish minds. At the same time public opinion in Western countries was poisoned by a steady stream of anti-Soviet propaganda. It was in these circumstances that Leaders and representatives of the Local Orthodox Churches, who had gathered in Moscow in July 1948 to celebrate the five hundredth anniversary of the autocephaly of the Russian Orthodox Church, issued an appeal to all Christians "fraternally to unite forces" and to render "ineffectual all plans and intentions to cause a new military conflagration on soil

still groaning under a burden of blood, tears, suffering and graves."

In those troubled times the International Liaison Committee of cultural workers in the cause of peace proposed the holding a World Peace Congress. In February 1949 Patriarch Aleksi, in a special address to the Heads of all Local Orthodox Churches, expressed his support for and satisfaction with this proposal. In April 1949 the Congress gathered in Paris, attended by representatives of more than 70 countries. A Permanent Committee was elected. Metropolitan Nikolay of Krutitsy and Kolomna was sent as a delegate to this Congress where he spoke and was later elected a member of the Permanent Committee.

As I have already said, the Russian Orthodox Church has taken an active part in the work of the international peace movement from the moment of its inception. We attribute the utmost importance to this participation, for the World Council of Peace offers a platform on which representatives of the widest conceivable circles of international public concern can voluntarily cooperate, and this augments the effectiveness of its labours and allows it to exert a beneficial influence on the development of international relations. At the present moment, the Locum Tenens Metropolitan Pimen is a member of the World Peace Council.

On August 25, 1949, the first All-Union Peace Conference was held in Moscow. Delegates from the Russian Orthodox Church took part in it and one of their number was elected to the Soviet Peace Committee which was inaugurated at that time. At present Metropolitan Pimen is also a member of this Committee.

On October 2, 1949, International Peace Day was celebrated. In this connection Patriarch Aleksi addressed the whole "God-preserved Russian Flock," exhorting them to "intensify their prayers to the Saviour of the world that He may bring peace to the whole world; and to dedicate all their energies to the struggle for peace, and the strengthening of the common security by selflessly labouring, each one at his given task, for the good of his country and the cause of peace."

(to be continued)



Services Conducted by His Holiness Patriarch PIMEN

NOVEMBER

November 19 (6). Friday of the 24th week after Trinity. In the evening His Holiness Patriarch Pimen read an akathistos before the icon of the Mother of God "Joy Unhoped For" in the Church of the Prophet Elijah, Obydensky Pereulok, Moscow.

November 21 (8). Sunday of the 24th week after Trinity. The Synaxis of St. Michael the Archangel and all the Hosts of Heaven. On the eve of the feast, His Holiness Patriarch Pimen attended the All-Night Vigil at the private chapel of Michael the Archangel in the Patriarchal podvorye* of the Holy Trinity in the village of Lukino. After Vigil His Holiness conducted a panikhida in memory of Patriarch Aleksiy and of his own father Mikhail. On the day of the Feast Patriarch Pimen celebrated the Divine Liturgy in the Church of St. Gabriel the Archangel in the Antiochean podvorye** in Moscow with Archbishop Yuvenaliy of Tula and Belev and Bishop Grigoriy of Krupnish the Rector of the Bulgarian podvorye in Moscow; concelebrating were Archimandrite Makarios Tayar, the Rector of the Antiochean podvorye, and the clergy of the church. After the service the Patriarch thanked Archimandrite Makarios for the warm welcome he had received on the occasion of this festal service.

Present at the service were the Ambassador of the Lebanese Republic Naim Amiun and Counsellor to the Embassy of the Syrian Arab Republic Mazkhar Barazi.

November 27 (14). The day of St. Philip the Apostle. His Holiness Patri-

arch Pimen celebrated the Divine Liturgy and, on the eve, the All-Night Vigil, at the Church called the Resurrection***, Aksakov Pereulok, Moscow, where there is a side-altar dedicated to St. Philip. After the service His Holiness, in his reply to the Rector Archpriest Vasiliiy Serebrennikov, thanked him for the warm welcome he had received at his church.

November 28 (15). Sunday of the 25th week after Trinity. The day of the martyrs and confessors Gurios, Samonas and Abibos. His Holiness Patriarch Pimen celebrated the Divine Liturgy and, on the eve, held All-Night Vigil in the Church of the Holy Martyr John the Warrior, Dmitrov Street, Moscow, where one of the side-altars is dedicated to the confessors Gurios, Samonas and Abibos. At the Liturgy His Holiness honoured the priest Prokopiyy Kharitoshkin with the award of a golden pectoral cross.

After the service, Patriarch Pimen thanked the Rector, Archpriest Mikhail Orlov, for his words of welcome and for the icon of St. Nicholas the Wonder-Worker, Metropolitan Pyotr of Moscow, and Saint Sergius of Radonezh presented to him by the church council and all those who regularly served in the church. His Holiness prayed that all the parishioners might be helped and blessed in their lives and work by the holy confessors Gurios, Samonas and Abibos and blessed the assembled congregation.

November 30 (17). The day of St. Nikon, abbot and disciple of St. Sergius of Radonezh. His Holiness officiated at the All-Night Vigil on the eve with

* The Patriarchal podvorye near Moscow is in this case the Patriarch's country residence.

** Here the word *podvorye* has the usual meaning.

*** Tserkov Voskreseniya Sloveschego: the Church in honour of the Church of the Resurrection erected by Constantine the Great on Golgotha in the IV century.

Archbishop Filaret of Dmitrov and at Divine Liturgy on the day of the Feast with Archbishop Pitirim of Volokolamsk and Archbishop Filaret of Dmitrov in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra. During the Liturgy, His Holiness ordained priest Georgiy Krasnolozhkin, a third-year student of the Moscow Theological Academy.

DECEMBER

December 1 (November 18). The day of Plato, martyr. The Saint's Day of Metropolitan Platon Levschin of Moscow and Kolomna. His Holiness Patriarch Pimen attended the Divine Liturgy in the Patriarch's domestic chapel in the patriarchal suite at the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra.

In the evening of that same day, Patriarch Pimen read the akathistos to the Protecting Veil of the Mother of God with Archbishop Pitirim of Volokolamsk and Archbishop Filaret of Dmitrov, Rector of the Moscow Theological Academy, in the Academy Church of the Protecting Veil. After the akathistos, His Holiness Patriarch Pimen replied to the welcoming speech of the Rector.

December 2 (November 19). The day of the Prophet Obadiah. The day of the demise of Metropolitan Filaret Drozdov. His Holiness Patriarch Pimen attended the Divine Liturgy in the Patriarch's domestic chapel in the Patriarchal suite in the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra.

December 4 (November 21). The Presentation of the Mother of God in the Temple. His Holiness Patriarch Pimen conducted the All-Night Vigil on the eve in the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Epiphany. After lity,* His Holiness delivered a sermon on the dedication of the Holy Virgin to the service of the Temple and anointed the congregation with holy oil. His Holiness celebrated the Divine Liturgy in the Cathedral. At the Liturgy, Patriarch Pimen presented

the nun Olimpiada Selivanova, a member of the executive office of the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Epiphany, with the award of a pectoral cross. At the end of the service His Holiness wished the congregation joy of the feast.

On this same day, His Holiness Patriarch Pimen attended a panikhida at the tomb of Patriarch Tikhon in the church of the Icon of Our Lady of the Don in the Don Monastery.

December 5 (November 22). The 26th Sunday after Trinity. On the eve His Holiness Patriarch Pimen conducted the All-Night Vigil in the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Epiphany and anointed the congregation with holy oil. The Patriarch celebrated the Holy Liturgy in the Cathedral and after the service preached to the assembled congregation.

December 7 (November 24). The Day of St. Catherine, Great Martyr of Alexandria. The Divine Liturgy and, on the eve, the All-Night Vigil, were celebrated by His Holiness Patriarch Pimen in the Church of the Deposition of the Robe of the Lord where there is a side-altar dedicated to St. Catherine. After a special service the Patriarch made an answering speech to the welcome of the Rector, Archpriest Vasilii Svidenyuk.

December 9 (November 26). The Feast of the Consecration of the Church of the Great Martyr St. George in Kiev. The All-Night Vigil on the eve was conducted by His Holiness Patriarch Pimen in the church of the Icon of Our Lady of Kazan in Kolomna, Moscow. After the service, Patriarch Pimen wished those attending joy of the feast and blessed them.

December 10 (November 27). The Day of the Icon of Our Lady called "The Sign." His Holiness Patriarch Pimen celebrated the Divine Liturgy and, on the eve held All-Night Vigil in the Church of the Icon of Our Lady "The Sign" in the Pereslavl Sloboda, Moscow. After a special prayer service before the icon, His Holiness answered a speech of welcome by the Rector, Archpriest Ioann Ryazantsev, and delivered a sermon on the meaning and significance of the part borne aloud by the priest in the liturgy. (Vozglasy).

* Lity. A procession and solemn intercession at Vespers on the eve of Great Feasts and on certain other days after which the blessing of the bread and oil takes place in the centre of the church. *Tr.*

December 12 (November 29). The 29th Sunday after Trinity. His Holiness Patriarch Pimen celebrated the Divine Liturgy and, on the eve, the All-Night Vigil in the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Epiphany.

The same day in the evening Patriarch Pimen read an akathistos to Saint Sergius of Radonezh in the Cathedral

of the Holy Trinity in the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra.

December 13 (November 30). Monday of the 28th week after Trinity. His Holiness Patriarch Pimen attended a panikhida in memory of Metropolitan Nikolay Yarushevich in the Church of our Lady of Smolensk in the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra.



Steadfastness in the Faith

January 21 (8), 1972, is the 500th anniversary of the blessed death of the Holy Martyr Isidore, Priest of Yurev, and with him 72 martyrs.

The son of Grand Prince Vladimir, peer of the Apostles, enlightener of Russia, the Grand Prince Yaroslav, conquered the Chuds, a tribal people living in the area of Novgorod and Pskov. In 1030, on the river Omovzha (now the Enayga) on territory which today forms part of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, Yaroslav founded a town and there caused to be built a church dedicated to the Great Martyr Saint George the Victorious.¹ The town received the Christian name of Yurev² (now Tartu). During the rule of Ivan III (1462-1505), the Russians had two churches in Yurev: apart from the XI century Church of St. George, in the Russian colony (at the "Russian End")³ of the town) a second church had been built dedicated to the Holy Hierarch and Wonder Worker Nicholas. Two priests,

Ioann and Isidore, served in these churches.

"The Russian colony in Yurev lived in an atmosphere of extremely strained relations with the German administration, which could not but see it as an alien and even potentially hostile element, directly connected with Russia."⁴ The Order of Teutonic Knights was not tolerantly disposed towards the basic Orthodox Russian population of Yurev. Only help received from their Russian brothers in the faith gave the Orthodox of Yurev comparative freedom in their ecclesiastical life. The Pskovians and Novgorodians considered Yurev as a part of their possessions ("a patrimony received from the fathers and forefathers of the Russian state") and in their treaties there are invariably clauses safeguarding the rights of the Russian Orthodox inhabitants of the town.

The Chronicler writes of the events in Yurev at the end of the third quarter of the XV century: "Having but a short journey to make by sea, the Germans began to take up their abode in that country and, once they had settled themselves in more firmly, to take over its government, since at that time the Russian land was torn by disorder and civil wars. Having enslaved the native, pagan population,

¹ The same St. George, an Eastern martyr of the 3rd or 4th century, was patron Saint of Russia and England. The title "The Victorious" seems, however, to be used specifically by the Orthodox. *Tr.*

² Yuriy is the Russian version of the name George. *Tr.*

³ The "Russian End" was a small self-governing colony in Yurev. The mid-XV century seal of the "Russian End" of the town of Yurev has been found in Pskov, inscribed on one side with the words "The Yurev seal" and, on the other: "The seal of St. George," that is of the Church of St. George of which Isidore was priest (*Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, 1960, No. 3, pp. 260-261, "Vislye pechaty Pskova" — "The pendant seals of Pskov").

⁴ *Slavyano-germanskije kulturnye svyazi i otnosheniya*, M. 1969, p. 315.

the Germans, more by force than by persuasion, converted them to the Latin faith, which at that time they themselves held, and began to persecute the Orthodox Christians who lived among them."

Father Ioann moved to Pskov where, shortly afterwards, he became a monk under the name of Ion, and the founder of the Pskov-Pechory Monastery.

Father Isidore remained in Yurev, maintaining his flock in fidelity to the Orthodox faith. The zeal with which the priest Isidore defended the purity of the Orthodox faith provoked the anger of the Master of the Order of Livonian Knights, and one of the town Elders, a certain Yu. Tryasogolov, having a desire to commend himself for promotion to those in power, collected accusations, most of them of a libellous character, against the Orthodox priest and his parishioners. Soon the opportunity came to launch an open persecution against the zealous Orthodox. On the Feast of the Epiphany, the priest Isidore together with his flock sallied forth in procession according to Orthodox custom to bless the waters of the river Omovzha. Here, by order of the town authorities, he and the Orthodox with him were seized during the ceremony. Hauled off to answer for themselves before the magistrates in the Town Hall, the Orthodox were subjected to every pressure to renounce their faith. Seeing how firmly Isidore's flock stood by the truths of their Orthodox faith, the city judges ordered them all to be cast into prison. Even this, however, did not shake the steadfast convictions of the prisoners. Father Isidore continued to teach and comfort his flock in prison as in church. Turning to the East, the prisoners prayed to God with tears and sung sacred hymns. In the expectancy of new and more severe trials, the priest Isidore partook of the Holy Sacrament himself and gave Communion to all who were with him, strengthening them for what lay ahead. A day after they had been imprisoned, on the 8th of January, the prisoners were brought up for trial at the Town Hall. After interrogation and torture

"seeing the steadfastness of these Saints in the Orthodox faith, the bishop and the city magistrates were filled with rage". The firmness of the confessors was taken for stubbornness and ignorance and they were condemned to death. The judges sentenced the confessors to be cast that same day (January 8, 1472) into that very "Jordan" the waters of which the Orthodox had been blessing to commemorate the Baptism of our Lord. Father Isidore was cast into the water in all his priestly garments. The Chronicler in his description of the martyrs' suffering tells us that among them there was a woman with a three-year-old child in her arms. The executioners took the child from its mother, thinking to let it live. But the infant twisted free of the torturers' arms and, rushing to the bank of the "Jordan," he made the sign of the cross and flung himself in after his mother.

In the spring, when the ice melted, the bodies of the holy martyrs were found on the banks of the river about "three *poprishcha*"⁵ upstream from the town, lying as though placed there by human hands beneath a tree with their faces to the East. The Orthodox merchants of Yurev took upon themselves the burial of the holy martyrs. Some were buried at the place where they were found, others brought to Yurev and buried near the Church of Saint Nicholas.

The history of the ensuing cult in memory of the Holy Martyr Isidore in the Russian Church is as follows:

The majority of scholars have come to the conclusion that the description of the sufferings of the Yurev martyrs was written with the blessing of Metropolitan Makariy of Moscow by the Pskov priest Vasiliy (Varlaam)⁶, but that their canonisation took place at the Moscow Councils of 1547-1549.

⁵ *Poprishche*, pl. *poprishcha*. An old measure of distance equal to one versta (1.067 kilometres). *Tr.*

⁶ "Svyatye yurevskye mucheniki presviter Isidor i s nim 72 i pervoye prazdnovaniye pamyati na meste muchenicheskoy konchiny ikh v g. Yureve." Riga, 1898, pp. 10-11.



THE HOLY MARTYR ISIDORE, PRIEST OF YUREV.

At that time a service was composed in their honour which Orthodox Christians preserved in manuscript. The martyrs of Yurev are also remembered and honoured among the Old Believers of the district, and a manuscript copy of the martyrs' service has been found in their community.

The ancient copies of the service were used as a basis for a new service printed with the blessing of the Holy Synod in 1897.

Professor E. E. Golubinsky does not include Saint Isidore's name among the saints canonised at the "Makariy Councils" but counts him among the "revered dead" and maintains that the Yurev martyrs were not actually canonised until 1898.⁷

⁷ E. Golubinsky, "Istoriya kanonizatsii svyatykh v Russkoy Tserkvi," pp. 326, 574.

Our researches into the data concerning the cult of the holy martyr Isidore and the 72 martyrs with him enable us to state with certainty that Presbyter Isidore was honoured as a holy confessor and martyr from the day of his martyrdom. It may be safely assumed that, in the XVI century, manuscript copies of the service dedicated to him were already extant, since the story of their sufferings was already known at that time. Later we hear nothing more of the holy Yurev martyrs and it is only towards the end of the XIX century that the question of their cult in Church was again raised.

In the last century, the town of Yurev was a part of the diocese of Riga. Archbishop Arseniy Bryantsev (who was Diocesan there from 1887 to 1897), raised the question of renewing the celebration in memory of the Holy Martyr Isidore. A. Charevsky, Professor of Theology at Yurev Uni-

versity, edited and presented for the approval of the Holy Synod a new service in honour of the holy martyrs based on the old manuscript texts. This service, corrected by the distinguished hagiographer Archbishop Sergiy Spassky of Vladimir, was approved by the Holy Synod in 1897. Under the next Bishop of Riga (Agafangel Preobrazhensky, 1897-1910), the feast day of the Holy Martyr Isidore and the 72 martyrs with him was established on the 8th of January by a decision of the Holy Synod. In the same year a special service in honour of the martyrs was published as a separate book. On the initiative and at the expense of Archbishop Arseniy icons depicting St. Isidore were prepared and distributed to various churches.

A detailed description of the first celebration in memory of the holy

martyrs on the site of their sufferings in the town of Yurev on January 8, 1898, has been preserved. The celebrations were conducted by the Right Reverend Agafangel, Bishop of Riga and Mitav. After the Divine Liturgy, celebrated in the Cathedral of the Dormition, and attended by a vast gathering of people, the procession moved off through the main streets of the city. The first halt was made opposite the building of the Town Hall where the Yurev confessors had been tried and condemned, the second on the bank of the River Enayga, where, according to the tradition, the martyrs were thrown beneath the ice; the third at the old Cathedral of the Dormition (built in 1783), to which was added a left altar dedicated to the memory of the Orthodox martyrs.

The memory of the Yurev martyrs continued to be revered by the believers in the locality. In 1897 in the town of Valga (now situated on the border of the Estonian and Latvian Soviet Socialist Republics), the foundations of a church in honour of the Holy Martyr Isidore were laid. In April 1953 in the Cathedral of the Dormition in the town of Tartu over the icon of St. Isidore to whom the side-altar is dedicated a carved oak

canopy was erected. In 1952 an akathistos was composed in honour of the holy martyrs and approved by the Bishop of Tallinn Ioann Alekseyev to be read throughout the churches of the diocese.

500 years have passed since the blessed end of the 73 martyrs. Their firm faith, their stand "even unto death" for the purity of the Gospel teachings, bear witness to the richness of their Spirit and to the power of their conviction. We salute their courage and revere their brave deed.

Archpriest **ROSTISLAV LOZINSKY**
Master of Theology

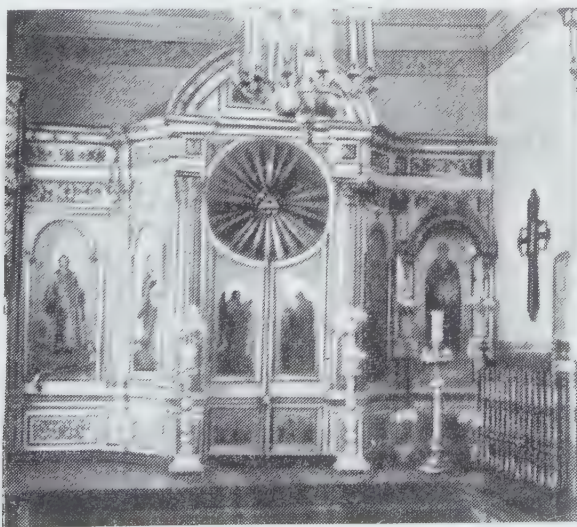
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The chapel in honour of the Holy Martyr Isidore of Yurev in the Cathedral of the Dormition in Tartu.

In Memory of a Spiritual Director of the Lavra

(On the anniversary of the death
of the schemo-Archimandrite
Serafim Semyonovych: 4.1.1971)

A year has already passed during which in the prayers for the repose of the souls of the departed at the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra the name of the schemo-Archimandrite Serafim, the spiritual director of the Lavra and the Moscow Theological schools, has been constantly remembered.* It may be that in each diocese there also arise prayers to God from those who knew him before he took the *schema*** as the kindly Archimandrite Pyotr. Clergy of all ranks, hierarchs and priests, monks and members of the laity came from all sides to his daily hearing of confessions, particularly on the feast days especially connected with the Lavra. And in the souls of all those who received absolution from this *starets*,*** there remained a profound spiritual impression thanks to his fatherly advice and spontaneous, pure, seemingly child-like manner of praying. And these precious seeds sown by the generous hand of Father Pyotr in the souls of his spiritual children are gradually growing to bear spiritual fruit and bring him "eternal memory."

It was on the fourth of January, 1971, the feast day of St. Anastasia, Great Martyr and Looser of Bonds, when, in the stillness of a frosty night, the passing bell tolled out from the bell-tower of the Lavra, announcing the departure for another life of the 93-year-old *starets*, the schemo-monk Serafim. In the hospital wing of the Lavra the monks gathered about the bed of their brother and spiritual father, newly come to his rest. They sang the first panikhida over his body, honouring him for the last time with prayerful prostrations.

And now, as then, the precious pages of Father Pyotr's long life turn before the mind's eye, pages from which he would from time to time draw tales to illustrate some piece of spiritual advice.

From a humble heart he brought out the treasures of his spirit. In his considered and well-reasoned homilies, his stories of his childhood under the loving care of his invalid mother

Juliana,* of his school days at the Zemstvo school, of heavy labour in the fields, of his years of work in a tannery and then of apprenticeship to a doctor who longed to pass on his professional experience to him, took on a unique, spiritual tone. Most remarkable of all, though, was his life as a monk, on which he embarked at the youthful age of 22 in the year 1900.

In the Monastery of St. Phileas near Vyatka, Roman (as he was called in the world) began his postulancy. There, as assistant to the brother in charge of the monastic guest-house, he heard much about the holy places of Russia and the beauty of many monasteries, the ancient repositories of Russian ecclesiastical culture, from the guests who foregathered to the monastery from various parts. The guest-brother himself, formerly the cell-attendant of one of the *startsy* of Athos, told him of Holy Mt. Athos, and the young postulant conceived a great desire to go there in pursuit of the high ideals which filled his innermost dreams.

Having made pilgrimages to the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra and the holy places of Kiev, Roman set out to join the brotherhood of the Russian Monastery of St. Panteleimon on Athos. There he was lovingly received into the community and appointed under obedience to duties in the choir and, in his free time, to work in the vineyards.

Soon after his arrival he became a novice under his old name of Roman in honour of St. Romanus the Melodist.

This period in Mt. Athos (1902-1910), was one Father Pyotr always recalled with profound reverence. "I read a lot then, seeking instruction for my soul from the Works of the Holy Fathers," he would say. With youthful zeal Roman absorbed the experience of many of the elders of Mt. Athos who instructed him in the mysteries of the spiritual life.... He would recall his duties in the choir under obedience together with Father Ilian (the recently deceased Superior of the Russian Monastery of St. Panteleimon), at the time when he was found worthy of his first vision of the Most Holy Mother of God surrounded by all the company of martyrs and praising the singers for the heartfelt sincerity of their singing.

Eight years went by. In the soul of Brother Roman new aspirations were stirring. Having heard of the ascetics of the Solovetsk Monastery, he asked the blessing of his Superior to return to Russia and enter the community there.

The Superior of the Solovetsk Monastery, finding Brother Roman extremely gifted for music, appointed him under obedience to service in the choir and gave him the opportunity to study the theory of music and learn to play the harmonium. He became utterly absorbed in the element of Russian sacred chants.

At that time it was quite a common thing for the monks, especially when out fishing, to listen entranced as the dense-toned, velvety bass of

* Cf. The article about Father Serafim in the Russian J.M.P., 1968, No. 12, pp. 32-33.

** Schema: from the Greek. The highest monastic degree involving new, extremely strict vows.

*** See the note on p. 63 in our second issue for 1971.

* His father—Sergey Semyonovych—was killed in 1878, the year his son was born, taking part in the war against Turkey. The boy lived with his mother and uncle Yevikhiy in the village of Bolshiye Barashki, in the district of Nolin, the province of Vyatka.

the young brother seconded the great rolling waves of the White Sea, giving voice to variation upon variation of the settings of the psalms. The monks came to love Roman with a great brotherly love. Prokimena and troparia for the saints' days and holidays, dogmatika, versicles and the hymns of praise sung instead of "It is meet", provided the pure source of themes for their meditations in common and in private. He would copy out the texts on the eve of the feast-days. . . .

The North, however, broke Roman's health. . . . He was at the point of death. "And perhaps I would never have got up again," he recalled, "if it had not been for the brothers' prayers to the Saints of Solovetsk. . . ." When Roman recovered from his illness, the elders of the monastery advised him to leave for a mountainous district in the province of Perm.

In 1911 he was received into the Missionary Monastery of Belaya Gora, from which he was soon transferred to the new semi-eremitical branch of the monastery, the Mt. Thabor Wilderness of the Transfiguration, under the direction of Priestmonk Yuvenaliy Kilin. With this Superior, a man full of grace, Roman bound up his whole life. In him he found not only a *starets* and spiritual father, but a friend and a remarkable model of meekness and devotion to God. "Avva, my father who begat me into the life of the spirit"—so he was later to address him in his letters.

On May 3, 1912, the spiritual director of the Monastery of Belaya Gora, Priestmonk Vukol, received Roman's final vows and gave him the name of Pyotr in honour of St. Peter, Bishop of Argos (feast day May 3/16). A month later, Brother Pyotr set out for Petersburg together with Father Yuvenaliy. There, on June 29, he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Perm Paladiy, and Father Yuvenaliy was made abbot.* On their return to the Thabor Wilderness, Hierodeacon Pyotr was put in charge of church vestments and appointed senior deacon.

For three years he fulfilled this task in the fear of God and on June 24, 1915, Bishop Andronik of Perm ordained him priest. He was appointed spiritual director to the people who came for help and advice to the Thabor Wilderness. Father Pyotr remained for three years in this service also, as always going about his duties with careful observance and great reverence.

In 1918, Father Pyotr was transferred to the Shmakov Monastery in the Far East, where the original traditions of the Valaam Monastery were lovingly preserved. Father Pyotr himself spoke very cautiously, with a kind of inner awe and trembling, of the daily rule of common prayer under the direction of experienced Valaam *starsy* in this house of the prayer of the heart, the Jesus Prayer. Two years later, together with his spiritual director Father Yuvenaliy, he left for Harbin, for the podvoriye of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China. The Head of this Mission in Peking, Archbishop Viktor, sent Fath-

er Pyotr to minister to the Russian parishes in various countries. In those years, he intended settling at the Russian Monastery of St. Panteleimon on Athos, but was prevented by the Greek administration.

Wherever Father Pyotr went, he found some unsullied source of nourishment for his spiritual life. He stood aside from the political trends which from time to time disturbed the Russian emigre milieu.

On January 30, 1947, with the blessing of His Holiness Patriarch Aleksiy, Abbot Pyotr and Bishop Yuvenaliy returned to Moscow. On February 21 they were temporarily appointed to the Pskov-Pechory Monastery where Father Pyotr was attached to Bishop Yuvenaliy in the capacity of cell-attendant and secretary. Three months later, Bishop Yuvenaliy was appointed to the diocese of Chelyabinsk and Father Pyotr went with him. In Chelyabinsk he served as pastor to the Church of St. Simeon the Receiver of God.

When Archbishop Yuvenaliy was appointed to Irkutsk, Father Pyotr, with the blessing of his Bishop, sent the following appeal to His Holiness Patriarch Aleksiy: "A monk since childhood, at the sunset of my life I would like to serve the Lord in the conditions of monastic life and to die in a monastic brotherhood, wherefore I humbly beg Your Holiness to receive me into the community of the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra. September 2, 1948."

From this time on, Father Pyotr settled under the roof of St. Sergius, where he zealously fulfilled all the duties to which, under obedience, he was appointed: cellarer, master of vestments, spiritual director. Father Pyotr, with his unflinching reverence for the sanctity of the pastoral ministry, was a model monk in his observance of the ascetic monastic disciplines. He venerated the brotherhood of the monastery as men of prayer and co-inheritors of the life to come. Father Pyotr always avoided judging or humiliating other people, his thoughts being more occupied with the sunset of his earthly life, the divine judgement, the Kingdom of Heaven and eternal torments. . . .

In 1950, in recognition of his exemplary labours in the monastery, Patriarch Aleksiy elevated him to the rank of Archimandrite. Two years later the elders of the Lavra elected him spiritual director of the brotherhood.

Fearful of the responsibility of this high ministry, Father Pyotr immediately wrote to his spiritual father and friend Archbishop Yuvenaliy. In reply he received this letter: "...the appointment is indeed a most responsible one before God. How attentive your heart must be when you hear the confessions of the worthy fathers and brothers! If the doctor of the body gives special care and attention to each patient individually, how much more should the doctor of souls, the soul-shepherd, apply especial effort and no less zeal to the healing of each and everyone who comes to him with wounds of the soul, remembering that the spiritual father is responsible for each one to the Heavenly Physician, our Lord and Saviour. You yourself know well, Father, and often hear repeated when a monk makes his vows, the words pronounced when he is entrusted to his monastic spiritual father:

* Hegumenos. A monastic rank second to that of Archimandrite. It can, but does not necessarily, imply that the holder is in charge of a religious community.

'Behold, I entrust thee (before God) with this beginner, teach him to live in the fear of God and in all the virtues of life, guarding him vigilantly, that his soul be not lost owing to thy carelessness, who art to answer for him on the Day of Judgement.' It this is the exhortation to the father of one who has just made his vows, then all the more should every spiritual director feel his responsibility before God. We pastors should particularly bear in mind the words of our Lord to St. Peter (and to all us pastors): 'Lovest thou me?'—'Feed my lambs, feed my sheep...?' (Jn. 21, 15-17).

"... When you receive a penitent for spiritual advice, hear his confession with all attention, love and reason. When he has confessed his sins, it is well to ask him whether he has spoken all his sins in the confession, let him examine his conscience and his life, whether there is not anything more of which he is guilty before God.... And if he has offended anyone, or quarrelled, he should without fail forgive and make it up, so that he himself may receive forgiveness from God....

"The sanctity of the confessional must be observed... The sins of a penitent are known only to God and to his spiritual director. For violating the confessional the spiritual director, according to the laws of the Church, is liable to be defrocked....

"With all my heart, worthy Father, I wish that you may go on in good health to fulfill the holy task of spiritual directorship which has been laid upon you with particular love, zeal and patience, in expectation of help from above (for the Lord will not abandon you, will help you and grant you health), and above all peace of soul and complete trust that you will receive your reward from the Lord, more especially in a blessed eternity, in the Kingdom of the Glory of God, all the more as many intercessors will come forward to pray for you, your own spiritual children, who will pray to Him for your soul, when it has need of their prayer at the transition from this earthly life to the life everlasting. And you yourself, in the weakness of your old age, be in some sense an example in your pastoral life to your spiritual children. Be humble, patient, praying always for your spiritual children and for all the Orthodox world, yet at the same time far from vanity and pride in your high spiritual calling... consider yourself worse, more sinful than all others...."

Archimandrite Pyotr followed this advice in every detail. He would always uncomplainingly receive those who came to make their confession with him at any time and was most gentle and tender in his attitude to human weaknesses.

Father Pyotr's first advice to those who came to him was to surrender themselves entirely to the will of God in all they did, in each new undertaking or trial. To this advice he would add a short prayer: "Lord, teach me; Lord, give me understanding; Lord, give me strength."

He recommended novices to write out the will of St. Sergius, left for the inhabitants of his monastery: "Take note for yourselves, brothers, I pray you all: first, walk in the fear of God and in purity of soul and unfeigned love; to this add love of pilgrims and humility with submission, fasting and prayer. Food and drink in modera-

tion; love not honour and glory and above all fear and remember the hour of death and the Second Coming."

The rich experience of the many monasteries in which Archimandrite Pyotr had lived did not remain his own, private property, but became the common property of the whole Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra, of all those who went to him for confession.

Particularly memorable were his brief exhortations to monks who had newly taken their vows and that particular power of example in the way he fulfilled the customs and traditions of monastic rule in a manner only to be acquired by great practical experience and unfailing observance. Whether it was the way he bowed before the Holy Altar, made the sign of the cross, the practised movement of his hand in blessing, how he would put on his biretta, mantle or other sacerdotal vestments—there was a reverence, an ease and lightness of movement which is difficult to convey in words but which is called *ispolat*, a kind of classic style characteristic of old monks who have done a long apprenticeship under direction within a living continuity of tradition.

Very expressive of the inner man was the arrangement of his cell and the way in which he wore the common monastic habit. The long crepe cowl draping the biretta, for instance, which is a comparatively recent innovation, he wore considerably shorter according to the Athonian and ancient Russian tradition.

In 1961, His Holiness Patriarch Aleksiy chose Archimandrite Pyotr to be his spiritual director.

From that time on, Archimandrite Pyotr was also the spiritual director of the Moscow Theological Academy and Seminary. He always prepared most carefully for the hearing of confessions, as for all other sacraments, going down on his old knees in his cell before the Cross and the Gospel....

He was a profound believer in the particular efficacy of the prayers of the Church and for this reason always asked everyone to pray for him.... Some time before his death, Father Pyotr sent to the Russian Monastery of St. Panteleimon on Athos, and to the Pochayev Lavra, the monasteries of Odessa and the Pskov-Pechory Monastery and other Russian religious houses, notes with his own name and the names of his parents, Sergiy and Juliana, that they might forever be remembered in the prayers of these communities.

In May 1970, Father Pyotr became virtually bed-ridden and, although overcoming his pain, he often struggled to attend the services in the church of God in order to join in the singing (especially when he heard people saying there were not enough basses in the choir), the illness was gaining ground and his forces weakening...

Nevertheless on the Feast of Michael and All Angels he rose to attend Divine Liturgy, took Communion and afterwards joined the brotherhood at the common board. At the end of the meal, Father Pyotr addressed them with the following words: "Brothers, my days are running out, I see this is the last time I shall share your board. I beg you, pray for me, for even as a fish cannot live out of water in the air,

so I cannot live without your holy prayers. I beg you all to forgive me, all that I have in any way injured, and I forgive you."

On the Feast of the Entry of the Most Holy Mother of God into the Temple, Father Pyotr took the schema under the name of Serafim in honour of St. Serafim of Sarov.

According to the Athonian custom, he asked his spiritual director to give him Holy Communion every day. Many who came to him in those days testify to the extraordinary profundity of his last directions and, not infrequently, to moments when he seemed to be transported beyond the world, with the words "Holy, Holy, Holy!" on his lips.

On the day of the third of January, 1971, the Holy Gifts were brought to schema-Archimandrite Serafim from the Refectory Church of Saint Sergius after the late Liturgy. He communicated with the deepest reverence, observing the required rite. The brothers gathered about him

congratulated him on having received the Sacrament. The *starets* became quite lively and exclaimed: "Lord, let me live a little longer, serve the Church, sing a little."

The brothers sang the 33rd psalm: "I will bless the Lord at all times: his praise shall continually be in my mouth..."; then verses and troparia to St. Sergius of Radonezh and St. Serafim of Sarov; the prayers to the Mother of God: "To Thy mercy we have recourse, O Mother of God...", "O my Most Blessed Queen, my Hope, Mother of God..." The *starets* quietly joined in the singing. Finally, they all sang the Christmas *Irmos*: "Christ is born, give ye glory. Christ comes from heaven, meet ye Him..."

And our dear Father, before sinking into complete silence, spoke once more with special, deep feeling: "Glory be to God for everything! For everything, glory be to God; glory be to Thee, Lord!"

Father ANATOLIY PROSVIRNIN

Archimandrite BORIS KHOLCHEV

in memoriam

Archimandrite **BORIS** (secular name Boris Vasilyevich Kholchev), of the clergy of the Dormition Cathedral in Tashkent and confessor of the Tashkent diocese, died suddenly on November 11, 1971, at the age of 76. Born in Oryol, he in 1913 finished the Oryol gymnasium, and in 1920 graduated from the Historico-Philological Faculty of Moscow University. He taught psychology and logic at the Oryol Teacher Training Institute and in 1922 took up research at the Moscow Institute of Psychology, the medical and teaching station of the People's Commissariat of Education and the Moscow Psychiatric Laboratory.

On April 8, 1927, Boris Kholchev was ordained deacon of St. Nicholas' Church in Kleniki, Moscow, and on July 8, 1928, became its presbyter. He then moved to Tashkent and joined the clergy of the Tashkent diocese. In 1948 Metropolitan Gury appointed him superintendent of the churches of the Ferghana circuit, and in 1950 head of St. Sergius' church in Ferghana. In 1953 Father Boris was appointed priest at the Cathedral of the Dormition in Tashkent, and in December of



the following year became Chairman of the Tashkent Diocesan Board. In 1955 he was made Dean of the Cathedral of the Dormition and on October 8 that year took monastic vows, retaining the name of Boris. The following month, on November 26, with the blessing of His Holiness Patriarch Aleksiy, he was preferred to the rank of Archimandrite. Many ecclesiastical honours were conferred upon

Archimandrite Boris by His Holiness Patriarch Aleksiy—culminating in a second cross with decorations (in 1958) and the right to celebrate the Liturgy with the Royal Doors open up to the point of the Lord's Prayer (1964).

On the death of Father Boris Bishop Platon of Tashkent and Central Asia took part in laying out the body, conducted the first office for the dead, and began to read the Holy Gospel. The news of Father Boris's death rapidly spread throughout Tashkent and many grief-stricken, tearful believers came to pay their last respects. On November 13, the Right Reverend Platon, together with members of the clergy from Tashkent and others who had travelled to Tashkent for the occasion, celebrated the Liturgy for the repose of the soul of the departed, which was followed by a funeral service in accordance with monastic rites. After the coffin had been carried round the Cathedral, the funeral procession set off for the Russian Orthodox Cemetery. The Archimandrite was interred not far from the Church of St. Alexander Nevskiy and the chapel consecrated to the Virgin of Consolation of the Afflicted.



St. Basil of Caesarea in Cappadocia. His First Oration on the Creation of Man "In Our Image..."

1. I am about to pay in full an old debt that I did not give back before, not of ill intent but because of an indisposition of the body. This debt is in the highest degree needful and important for your instruction. It would be inequitable if, having learnt about the animals, about those that swim, graze, fly, about the sky and all that regards it, about the earth and all that is on it, at the same time you should not be instructed — through the God-inspired Scriptures — in the question of our origin. Even as our eyes look out at the world about us and do not see themselves, unless they meet with something smooth and hard, in which case our regard, mirrored as in a reflection, enables us to see what lies in their depths, even so our reason cannot contemplate itself except by looking into the Scriptures. The light we see reflected there will awake in each of us the desire for self-knowledge. If our reason is not cultivated, if we do not give thought to the structure of our being

we do not know who we are or why we exist. Our attitude to our own selves is one of the utmost disregard, we have no conception of what is within the scope of our minds and do not know the least thing about what is contained within us.

2. Many works have been written with great labour about our body, the human body.

If you were to take an interest in medicine, you would find out how much it has to say of the workings of what is within us; how many hidden thoroughfares it has discovered in our organism, in the course of anatomical experiments! It has discovered invisible ducts, the coordination of the organs of the body in the process of breathing, respiratory canals, blood vessels, the measure of our breathing, the source of warmth at the heart, the uninterrupted respiratory movement in the area around the heart. Thousands of studies in this field have led to a science in which none of us are well-instructed, because this sphere has been wholly neglected and no one knows what he himself really is. We tend to study the sky more carefully than our own selves. Do not neglect the miracle within you. You are persuaded of your own insignificance, but further thought will show you your greatness. This is why the wise David, who had a fine gift for knowing himself, said: "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me" (ps. 139,6). Wonderful is the fashion by which I have come to know Thee

* Saint Basil the Great's (329—379) treatise "On the Creation of Man" which has been preserved in Greek manuscripts, is the conclusion of his "Hexaemeron." Until recently the work was ascribed to his brother St. Gregory of Nyssa. The "First Treatise" published here is headed in the Greek text (published in "Sources chrétiennes", v. 160, Paris, 1970, pp. 166-220) as follows: *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γενέσεως λόγος Α'.* 'Εἰς τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα. The Russian translation (on which this English version is based) was made from the Greek text as given in the "Sources," which also publish the Introduction by Alexis Smets (pp. 13-157).

What is this fashion?

By understanding all my own complexity, how fearfully and wonderfully I am made, through the microcosm of the creature I have understood the magnitude of the Creator.

3. "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness."

Recently, by the way, it was shown, by most sound reasoning, what these words signify and to whom they are addressed. The Church gives them an explanation and, more than this, She is possessed of faith which is more powerful than any explanation. "Let us make man." It is precisely from that moment that you should begin to know yourself. Such words were not addressed to any of the other creatures. Light appeared and the order was simple. "Let there be light!" The sky appeared, but without previous debate. The greater and the lesser lights appeared, but without any preamble as to what they should be like. The seas and the unbounded oceans were called into being by a command. By command appeared the various kinds of fishes. The living creatures, also, wild and tame, swimming and flying: He spoke and they were born. But then man was not, there was only the spoken thought about man. He did not say, as He did of the others: "Let there be man!"

Know your own dignity. He did not summon you to appear by an order; God first deliberated as to how a creature worthy of honour should be made to be. "Let us make!" It is the sage, thinking. The artisan, deliberating. Is His art not reflected in you? Will He not try with all care to make His most beloved creature perfect, consummate, excellent? Does He not wish to show you that you are perfect in the sight of God?

4. You have realised that there are two persons: the Speaker and the Spoken-to. Why did He not say: "Make," but "Let us make man"? So that you should understand the supreme authority; so that, recognising the Father, you should not deny the Son; so that you should know that the Father created through the Son, and the Son created according to the command of the Father; so that you should

glorify the Father in the Son and the Son — in the Holy Spirit. In this way, you came into being as a result of a mutual act of creation so that you might mutually honour the One and the Other making no distinction in honour but looking upon the Divinity as one. Pay attention to the outward course of history and to the profound inner significance of theology. "And God created man... in the image of God created *he* him." — "Let *us* make!" And it is not said: "created they him," so that you should have no cause to fall into polytheism. If the person were plural in its composition then people would have a reason to make themselves any number of gods. Now, though, the expression "let us make" is used so that you might know the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

The words "God created man" are spoken that you should grasp the unity of the Divinity, not the unity in the Hypostaseis, but, unity in deed (power), that you might glorify the One God, making no distinction in worship, which might turn into polytheism. It does not say "the gods created man," but "God created." The Father is one hypostasis, the Son — another, the Holy Spirit — another.

Why not three gods?

Because God is one. The Divinity I contemplate in the Father is the same as in the Son and that in the Holy Spirit is the same as in the Son. Because the image (*μορφή*) is one in Both and the power which proceeds from the Father remains the same in the Son. As a result of this, our worship and also our glorification are identical. The prelude to our creation is true theology.

5. "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness."

We are made in the image of God.

But how, precisely, in the image of God?

Let us cleanse our coarse heart, our untutored perception, let us put aside ignorant conceptions of God. If we are made in the image of God, as has been said, then some will say that the way in which we are wrought (*συνμορφος*) is the same. God has eyes and ears, a head, arms, a part

on which to sit (for the Scripture tell us that He sitteth upon the throne of His holiness), and likewise feet on which He walks. Is God not even as I have said? But banish from your hearts all improper imaginings. Cast away all thoughts which do not correspond to the greatness of God. God has no features (ἀσχημάτιστος), He is simple (ἀπλούς). Do not try to imagine His form; do not, after the fashion of the Jews, seek to make less He Who is great; do not enclose God in your conceptions, which are of the flesh; do not limit Him to the measure of your mind. He is illimitable in His might. Think of something great, add to that something greater than that of which you have thought, and to that, something still greater, and be convinced that for all your reasonings, you will never grasp what is infinite. Do not attempt to imagine His outward appearance (σχήμα): God is known in might. His nature is simple, His greatness immeasurable. He is present everywhere and transcends all things; He is intangible, invisible, He is that which eludes comprehension; He is uncircumscribed in greatness, unconfined by outward features, incommensurate with any might, illimitable by time, unencompassed by any boundary. Nothing is for God as it is for us.

6. What then do the Scriptures mean when they say: that we are made in the image of God.

Let us study that which is of God and we shall come to understand that which concerns us, that is, that we are not in the image of God if we are to understand this in a bodily sense. Outward features are only to be found in a body subject to destruction. The mortal cannot encompass the immortal, the mortal cannot be the image of the immortal. The body grows, shrinks, ages, changes; it is of one kind in youth, another in age; one in good health, another in sickness; one in fear, another in joy, one in pleasure, another in want; one in peace, another in battle. The complexion of a man awake is not that of a man asleep: the first flushes vividly because of the uprush of warmth to the surface, in the second the warmth goes inwards and this is

why the body of a sleeper is always rather pale.

How can something that changes be the image of the immutable? That which always remains one and the same, can it come to resemble that which is so inconstant? The bodily runs away from us as all things in flux; before you have perceived it, it has already vanished; it is constantly changing its aspect.

"In our image." The fluid image of an immobile essence? A form without form? Where can we find out the meaning of this "in the image"? From the words of the Lord Himself. If I say anything of myself, do not accept it; if I speak as the messenger of the Lord, then accept it.

"Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fishes of the sea..." In body or in mind? In what is the basis of his power: In the soul or in the flesh? Our flesh is weaker than that of many animals. What comparison can there be between a man and a camel, a man and a bull, a man and a wild beast? Human flesh is more easily wounded than the flesh of animals.

In what, then, is the basis of our power?

In the superiority of our reason. In as much as man must yield to the animals in bodily strength, in so much he exceeds them in the form of his reason. With the help of what does man shift enormous weights? With the help of reason or of bodily strength?

7. "Let us make man in our image." Of the inner man it is said: "Let us make man." But, you will say: "Why does He not speak to us of reason?" He said that man was made in the image of God. Reason is man. Listen to what the Apostle says: "But though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day."

How is this?

I distinguish two persons: one that we perceive in outward appearance and another hidden beneath the appearance, that is, invisible; this is the inward man. So, we have an inward man and in some ways we are dual but, to tell the truth, we *are* the inward being. "I" is said of the inward man. What

is without is not "me," but "mine." The hand is not "I," but "I" is the reason-endowed principle of the soul. The hand is a part of man. For this reason the body is (as it were) an instrument of man, an instrument of the soul; by the word "man" is meant the soul as such.

"Let us make man in our image," that is, let us give him the superiority of reason.

8. "And let them have dominion." It was not said: "Let us make man in our image and let them give free reign to passion, desire, sorrow." Not the passions are included in the image of God, but reason, the ruler of passions. "And let them have dominion over the fish." No sooner were you made and already you were made a ruler.

"And let them have dominion..." If he has received power for one year from the Emperor, as a mortal from a mortal, having received it from one who has it not, what power of the soul does a man gain? You have received (power) from God, the warranty for which is not written on tablets of wood or on parchments doomed to be eaten by worms, but nature (itself) is the bearer of these Divine words: "Let them have dominion," and therein is everything concerning the dominion of man.

"Let them have dominion over the fishes of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." He did not say: "Let us make man in our image, and let them eat of every tree in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed." What concerns the body must be put in second place, and in the first place all that concerns the soul.

First and foremost we are endowed with the capacity to rule. Man, you are a being called to have dominion! Why do you enslave yourself to passions? Why do you neglect your own dignity and become the slave of sin? Why do you make yourself into the prey of the devil? You are called to be the lord of creation, but you cast away the nobility of your own nature.

"Art thou called being a servant?" Why do you care for the enslavement of the body? Why do you not appre-

ciate the power God has given you, the fact that you are endowed with reason, are master of your passions? When you see that your owner is the slave of pleasure, you yourself being a slave in body, then know that you are a slave in name only, and that he enjoys purely nominal power, but in fact is in a state of abject slavery. You see how he drags out his days in the company of a whore; are you not the lord of passion, and is he not the slave of those pleasures which you have rejected?

This is why "Let us make man... and let them have dominion..." (means): where there is the exercise of power, there is the image of God.

9. "Let them have dominion over the fish": First of all we are given power over living things of a different element. He did not say "Let them have dominion over the domestic animals," but "over the fish": their element is water. Dominion over the fish is the first gift.

And how do we rule over the fish?

Probably you will have noticed how, when your shadow falls upon a pond, it causes a great fluster amongst all the creatures there. Is it not so that the head of the family by his sudden appearance when there is disorder in the home re-establishes order by his sole presence? And the creatures of the sea alter their behaviour (*τὸ σχῆμα*) solely because a man has appeared? They cease from their carefree play and do not dare to swim up to the surface of the sea or pond.

When the dolphin sees a man somewhere in his neighbourhood, then, although he is the most royal of the sea animals, he feels fear. That is how man is given dominion over the swimming beings. Do you not see that your reason understands and masters everything; then why should you not rule over the sea creatures?

I have observed the inventiveness of man; seen how they make an arrangement of hooks, and bait them with bait corresponding to the size of the creatures which are to swallow it. After this, to the other end of the strings to which the hooks are attached, they tie inflated floats and leave them

to bob on the surface of the seas. The sea monsters fling themselves upon the bait and swallow the hooks which are hidden in it, and then pull the floats after them down into the depths. Insofar as the nature of the floats is to rise to the surface they (the monsters) again swim out to the surface. Having been pierced by their own food, they leap up and down in a fury; in this way they plough up the deep, swimming through sea after sea, vainly undertaking a great labour: in the end they fall victim to the little hook of which we have been speaking. Tamed by pain, exhausted by hunger and, finally, dead, they are hauled out after the floats and fall prey to the fishermen. The great fall victim to the little, the strong—to the weak.

Why?

Because man, thanks to superiority of reason, has been given a mandate of power: like run-away slaves he brings the rebellious to submission. Those who will not be attracted by gentleness he subdues by constraint. In this way, man has everywhere the might of power with which he is invested by God Himself. For this reason the sword-fish, the hammerheaded shark, the whale, the sawfish, the sea-cow and all the monsters of the sea whose very names are a terror have come under the dominion of man.

10. "Let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the beasts of the earth." * Have you not seen the fierce and roaring lion, whose very name is unbearable, whose roaring makes the earth tremble? Who is sufficiently steadfast to withstand his onset? No animal relies on superior strength to withstand the lion's spring, yet you see how he has been confined in a cramped cage.

Who confined him? Who designed this little prison for so great an animal? Who carefully left a narrow space between the bars for ventilation, that the beast might not be suffocated by his own breath, might enjoy a free flow of air but at the same time be safely kept. Who? Was it not man? He makes sport of the most dangerous beasts. Does not man sport with pan-

thers, putting up a cardboard dummy in the semblance of a man? And when the panther savages the cardboard, does not the man, safely hidden, laugh at the dullness of the animal? Is it not thanks to his superiority that man has power over everything.

And what should we say of those who fly?

Of course, man does not rise into the air, but he flies on a level with the feathered creatures thanks to the power of his reason. Nothing limits his reason, it studies what is in the depths of the sea, hunts what is upon the earth, catches what is in the sky.

But have you never seen how a bird, sitting on the top of a branch, mocks at people, confident in the swiftness of its wings? At the same time you can observe the sport of the boy: he binds two reeds together, smears the end with sticky sap, hides it all in leaves and twigs, and himself keeps his gaze fixed upwards, then, no sooner does it touch the reed, the bird is in his hands. And there he is carrying off this sailor of the skies, a being which can fly, borne up by the ether, having caught him with the help of a little smear of sticky sap. Man is below (on the earth), his hand also is below, but his thought reaches upward and thanks to artifice all is attainable to him.

He spreads nets for the feathered clan; he becomes an archer and takes aim at those that fly, with the help of decoys he captures the predators. Have you never seen how an eagle plunges swiftly to seize his prey and then entangles himself in nets upon the earth? So the dweller in high places descends to the earth, lured by a decoy invented by man. God has made all things obedient to the hand of man; when He finished creating you, He did not deprive you of the right of dominion. Do not say: "In what way are the flying creatures of the air different from me?" Thanks to your reason, they, too, are subject to your power.

"And let them have dominion over... every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." Do you see what it means to be made in the image of God?

11. "So God created man." What, then, is man? Let us build our conclusion on the basis of what we have

* A free paraphrase of Gen. 1, 26.

learnt and heard. We have no need to borrow the definitions of others or to add anything vain to our deliberations about the truth.

Man is the reasonable creature of God, made in the image of his Creator. If there is anything lacking in this definition, then let him who has spent himself in pursuit of transient wisdom take up the study. Man is made in the image of God.

12. And God blessed man and said: "Grow, multiply, and replenish the earth."* Even so did He bless the fishes. And God said: "Let the waters bring forth creeping things, the moving creature that hath life... and it was so."* And then God said: "Grow, multiply, and fill the earth."*

But what more?

Undoubtedly, this blessing includes that which you have in common (with the creatures), and that which remains as your own. You grow, like the other living creatures, and, being small at the beginning, you gradually gain in stature, achieving your full prime. It is the same for horses, dogs, eagles, swans and all others, whosoever you should name: being minute at the beginning of gestation they gradually increase in growth, reach their prime and then decrease and grow less. It is precisely in this that the common nature with which (God) has endowed (them and us) consists.

13. "Grow," that is, increase in stature (τρέφεσθε). Having been born small, to become big and to attain maximum growth. For if we grow in the first seven years and are overtaken by the transition to the second seven-year cycle, this does not at all mean that we are bound to change in the same way in each seven year cycle throughout the rest of our life.

The first seven years contain the age of childhood. The end of the cycle of childhood is clearly marked: it is the change of teeth. One lot of teeth have fallen out. Others grow to replace them. The age of adolescence is the second seven years, which lasts until 14 years has been reached: first the child, then the adolescent. Further,

counting from the age of 14, the youth; then the man. Such are the cycles of growth. And so, "grow"! Even if you live to be a hundred, growth will not continue from the first year to the hundredth. However, this one, wisely spoken word contains the providential thought given to our making.

"Grow!" But until what moment?

There is no measure of growth. The principle of growth is inherent from the moment of conception in the mother's womb. After this no age brings anything essentially new. In the mother's womb there is from the very beginning everything essential to the growth of the elements. The teeth have fallen out, and we are made aware that growth has completed one cycle. A father measures his three-year-old son in the knowledge that his height will be doubled at the end of the period. He will be twice as tall as he was at three years old. And at the end of the full period his height will again be doubled. Such is the measurement of human nature until the end of the first period, until its transition from the first seven years to the second. During that time the warmth (of the body) increases, the figure becomes more firm and slender, softness vanishes, the members increase in strength. People are on the threshold of vigorous youth but have not yet fully achieved it. Their body is not yet come to full strength and is not fitted for heavy work. At that time a living being is characterised by lightness and mobility. During the third seven year period they attain their full height. Their body is still stretching upwards.

After the third seven-year period, when nature, weary of growing upwards, comes to itself, there begins a filling out (of the body) in width and what has sprung up in height is, as it were, reinforced from either side, grows heavier, and all the parts of the body increase in strength.... So nature acts in accordance with her inclination (ἀκολουφία). From the very beginning, however, this happened by the will of God, and that which was once laid down as a foundation now permeates all creation to the very end.

14. "Grow and multiply." "Grow", so that creation might not be limited

* Again St. Basil paraphrases freely from Genesis. 7r.

to any single state or condition. "Multiply", inasmuch as creation envisages not one man only, but many people. "And replenish the earth." "Replenish" does not mean simply "populate!"; this would lead to our living in cramped conditions since the earth by which our dwelling is confined, is of such (limited) proportions; rather (does it mean): replenish with your might, which He gave you to have dominion over the earth.

"Replenish the earth"; not, of course, the burnt-up, uncultivated, frozen, impassable earth. Naturally, people are not obliged to replenish such earth as this, but He has so ordered that we replenish the earth as rulers and replenish it according to design. But having discovered the extent of the burnt-out and desert earth, the extent of the northern land, which because of excessive cold is unfit for cultivation and unprofitable, have we not, precisely by so doing, peopled the earth? Having chosen for ourselves all that is profitable, do we not reject all that which is of no profit to men in their life? For this reason (the expression) "replenish the earth" made us rulers. It does not follow in the least that, because we do not obtain benefit from the whole (earth), we do not have dominion over the whole (earth). When you have bought a loaf of bread, are you not the owner of the whole loaf, even, if only a part of it is edible, whereas another part is not fit to eat? Do you not throw out the stones, since there is no benefit in them? And if any other unfitting thing is mixed in with the food, do you not winnow away the chaff, do you not weed out the tares, do you not select that which by its quality is fit for the sustenance of life? So it is with the earth: one part, the better, is considered propitious for settlement, another is found suitable for cultivation, and the rest is given over to pasture for the quadrupeds.

Tell me, can I not organise (everything) according to my own wish inasmuch as by the gift of the Lord Who created me I was born a ruler?

"And replenish the earth, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the

earth." Here is the blessing, here is the law, here is the dignity conferred upon us by God.

15. "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created He him." Have you not noticed that this account is incomplete! "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." This statement of intention contains two elements: "In our image" and "after our likeness." But the creation contains only one element. Did God then intend one thing and then alter His design? Did some weakness, then, appear in the Creator, if He intends one thing and does another? Or were the words spoken lightly? He will soon say in these exact words: "Let us make man in our image and after our likeness," but before that He said "in our image" and did not say "after our likeness"? Whatever explanation we choose we are bound to discover a lapsus in what has been written. Or did He mean one and the same thing so that it would be superfluous to repeat it?

To say that the Scriptures contain empty words is a terrible blasphemy. And indeed (the Scriptures) never say (anything) empty. So, indisputably, man is created in the image and after the likeness.

Why, then, is it not said: "So God created man after God's image and in His likeness"? Well then, was the Creator without power? Impious thought!

Well then, had the Orderer repented (of His intention)? A still more impious line of reasoning! Or did He speak first and change His mind afterwards? No! Neither do the Scriptures say this, nor is the Creator impotent, nor was His decision an empty one. So what is the significance of this omission?

16. "Let us make man in our image and after our likeness." The one we have as a result of the creation, the other we attain to by our own will. At the primal creation, it is given to us to be born in the image of God. We have full power over all that depends on our own will; let us achieve the rest for ourselves by our own energy. If God, creating us, had not said beforehand: "Let us make" and "in our image," if we had not been given the potential of becoming "after the like-

ness," then in our own strength we should not have aspired to the likeness of God. But, you see, He created us able to become like God. Having given us the capacity to make ourselves like God, He left it to us to labour to achieve this likeness, so that we might receive the reward for (this) labour and, at the same time, so that we should not be portraits, made by the hand of an artist, and so that we should not remain in idleness; finally, that our labours to achieve likeness should not bring praises to anyone other than ourselves. Indeed, when you see a portrait that conveys an exact likeness of the original it is not the portrait you praise but the artist whom you admire. And so that the admiration may be for me and not for anyone else he gave me the opportunity to achieve the likeness of God. You see, "in our image," is something I possess in so far as I am a reasonable being, "after our likeness" is something to which I attain by being a Christian.

17. "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." Have you understood now why God gave us (being) in His image? "For he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." If you will become the enemy of evil, if you will be without malice, will not remember the enmity of yesterday, will love your brothers and feel for them, then you will grow like God.

If you forgive your enemy from the bottom of your heart, then you will grow like God! If you treat your brother who has offended against you even as God treats you, a sinner, then by your compassion for your neighbour you have grown like God. In this way, you are in possession of all that goes with being "in the image," in so far as you are a reasonable (being): whereas "after the likeness" you become by acquiring benignity. "Put on, therefore, bowels of mercies and kindness" in order to put on Christ. Even as you put on the bowels of compassion, even so you will put on Christ and, thanks to your closeness to Him, will become close to God. In this way, history (the creation), is a school of human life. "Let us make man in our image." Let

him from the moment of his creation stand possessed of all that is "in our image," but let him become that which is "after our likeness." God gave him the power to do this. If He had created you "after his likeness" also, then what would be left for you to achieve? If the Creator had given you everything, then how would you discover the Kingdom of Heaven? Now, however, one thing is given you, and the other has remained incomplete, in order that you should seek perfection and become worthy of the gift of God.

In what way do we attain to that which is "in the likeness"?

Through the Gospels.

What is Christianity?

It is to become like God in the measure that this is possible for human nature. If you have decided to be a Christian, hurry to grow like God, put on Christ. But how can you put on Christ when you have not received the mark? How can you put on Christ, when you have not been baptized? When you have not put on the garment of incorruption? Have you not renounced the likeness of God? If I were to say to you: "Come now, take on the likeness of an emperor," would you not account me your benefactor? But when I want to make you like God, do you not fly the word which makes you divine, do you not block your ears against the words of salvation?

18. "And God created man in his own image." "Man," a woman may say, "but what has that to do with me. It was the man who was created," she may go on, "God did not say: 'She who is a human being,' but by the term 'man' He showed that He was speaking of a male being." Not at all! In order that no one should think in ignorance that the term "man" is used to denote only a male, (the Scriptures) added: "Male and female created He them." So woman, like man, has the honour to be created in the image of God. The nature of the one and of the other are equal in honour, their virtues are equal, their rewards are equal, they are equally subject to retribution. Let (the woman) not say: "I am weak." Weakness is inherent in the flesh and strength in the soul. Insofar as the image of God is, of course, equally to

be honoured, let them be equally honourable in virtue and in doing of good deeds. There can be no excuse for those who wish to justify themselves by physical weakness. But is the body indeed so weak? On the contrary, in compassion it shows endurance in hardships, alertness in sleeplessness. How can male nature compete with female nature which spends its whole life in hardships? How can man emulate the forbearance of women in time of fasting, her insistence in prayer, the abundance of her tears, her industry in good deeds?

I have seen myself a woman commit theft secretly and with the best intentions, without her husband's knowledge she was doing charitable works for his sake, for the sake of the home, for the happiness of the children. Without telling the husband anything about it she gave alms, thus spending for his good but in secret from him. But she did so before Him who seeth in secret and did not advertise her almsgiving.

A good woman stands possessed of what is "in the image." Do not pay attention to the outward man: it is but the appearance. The soul is within, as if in the envelope of the weak body. It is the soul that matters and the soul is of equal worth; the only difference is in the envelope.

So you have become like God thanks to your benignity, patience, obedience, charity towards others and brotherly love; you hate evil and you subdue sinful passions in order to acquire the right to rule.

19. "And let them have dominion over the fish." You are given dominion over the fish who are without reason; hence you are also ruler over unreasonable passion.

"And let them have dominion over the wild beasts" * You rule over every kind of wild beast. But why, you might say, do wild beasts sit within me? Yes, and there are, withal, a great multitude, myriads of wild beasts within you. Do not be offended! Anger is a small wild beast when he makes his lair in your heart. Is he not wilder than any dog?

And the cunning hidden in the per-

fidious soul, is it not more ferocious than any cave-bear? And hypocrisy, is that not a wild beast? And the man who stings us with insults, is he not a scorpion? And is not he who secretly contemplates vengeance more dangerous than a viper? And ambition, is that not a ravening wolf? What wild animals are there not within us! Is not the womaniser lustful as a horse? "They," it is written "were as fed horses in the morning: every one neighed after his neighbour's wife." It is not written "spoke with his neighbour's wife" but "neighed" (the Scriptures put him on a level with creatures unendowed with reason because of the passion to which he is subjected). And so, there are many beasts within us.

Indeed, how can you be a ruler of wild beasts if you rule those that are without but leave those that are within unsubdued? You may dominate the lion with your reason, taking no account of his roaring, yet at the same time you yourself gnash your teeth, emit inarticulate sounds, and all your inward rage is ready to burst forth. What is more intolerable than a man who cannot contain himself within himself when he is subject to passion, when anger has chased away reason and usurped power over his soul?

In spite of everything you were created to be a ruler, a ruler over your passions, a ruler of the wild beasts, a ruler over the creeping things, a ruler over the fowl of the air. Do not grow arrogant and highflying in your mind, do not let your judgements be light and infirm. Do not be proud, do not puff yourself up, do not think of that which is beyond human nature, do not swell with praise, do not be affected, do not think yourself something great. Otherwise you will grow like the restless bird who because of her fluttery nature is always hurrying hither and thither. Keep your thoughts in subjection in order to become a ruler over all things. In this way, the power given us over living beings prepares us to rule over our own selves. It is impossible, after all, that he who is commanded at home should have command over peoples, or that he, who in his private life, is in

* Again a free paraphrase from Gen. 1, 26 or 28. Tr.

submission to a hetaera, should in public life stand at the head of state. It follows that he who organises everything well in his private life and can establish order in his own home has earned the right to rule over others. Therefore if in your home there is disorder and muddle, then the people under your orders will turn on you with the saying: "Physician, heal thyself." Therefore the first thing to do is to heal yourself!

No one will blame the man who has failed to capture a lion. On the other hand, everyone will laugh at the man who cannot control his own temper. For this reason those who cannot subdue their own passions stand condemned, whereas the man who simply fails to overcome wild beasts has clearly done nothing worthy of condemnation.

20. May the Lord Who has taken care for the (Holy) Scriptures, Who has permitted our small and weak voice to speak with you all this while, Who has shown you with the help of my poor arguments the great treasures in these few reflections of truth, may this same Lord grant unto all of you the great in the little, perfection of understanding in these few seeds, thus rewarding us in full for the labour we have attempted and granting you the perfect fruit of enjoyment of the words of God, for His is the glory and the power, world without end. Amen.

On the Birth of Christ

The coming into the world of the Son of God and His birth from the Most Pure and Most Blessed Virgin Mary is a great mystery (I Tim. 3, 16), beyond the comprehension of men and angels. Not only we who are of the flesh but even disembodied spirits are astonished as to how He, Who is Pure Spirit, became flesh. How He, Who was in the begin-

ning, begins. How the Uncreated is created. How the Indescribable is described, the Uncontainable contained, the Invisible perceived. In his striving to penetrate "the depths of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!" (Rom. 11, 33), Saint Cosmas of Maiuma exclaims in the name of the Church: "A strange and most wonderful mystery do I see: the cave is heaven; the Virgin the throne of the cherubim; the manger a room, in which Christ, the God Whom nothing can contain, is laid" (Irmos, Canticle Nine of the Canon.)* The mystery of the architecture of salvation for the human race, hidden from the beginning, has been revealed: God has appeared as man. Fulfilled at last are the Old Testament prophecies and prefigurations of the coming of the Messiah, for the Expectation of the nations has come (Gen. 49, 10. Septuagint). Angels tell the people of the birth of Christ the Saviour in the town of David.

Having become man, Jesus Christ yet remains, as He ever has been: God. By His earthly birth, He showed an extraordinary humility and condescension to the human race. Being, by His Divinity, beyond the reach of us sinful mortals, the Lord made himself within reach of us all, akin to us all, through His humanity. Saint Basil the Great said of this "The Son of God... came down from heaven, yet departed not from the Father; was born in a cave, yet descended not from the Throne; was laid in a manger, but abandoned not the innermost places of the Father; was born according to the flesh of the Virgin yet, as God, was without a father; came down, and did not depart from those on high; rose up, and made no addition to the Trinity: manifested Himself in the form of a servant and did not lose equality of honour with the Father, but is the Word, and the Image, and... the Glory, for light is eternal as the Sun."

The God-man, Jesus Christ, descends to earth in order to draw us up to heaven. The Lord of all the Universe takes on the appearance of a servant, in order to free us from the servitude of sin

* Translation from the Festal Menaion. Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware. London, 1969, p. 282.

and death. "The Divinity has put upon itself the imprint of man" in the words of Ephraem Syrus. "So that humanity, too, might be adorned with the imprint of Divinity."

Holy Church hymns the truth of the Incarnation every day at Mattins in the singing of "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord: God is the Lord which hath showed us light" (Psalm 118, 26-27). The significance of these words lies in the fact that the Lord Jesus Christ, being All-perfect, All-powerful and Inaccessible, has appeared to us, weak and unworthy as we are, for the sake of the love He bears mankind. And, if He has shown us so great a mercy, then blessed is the man who cometh in the name of the Lord. He will never be abandoned but God will come to meet him on his way to the Kingdom of Heaven.

In the person of the God-man, Jesus Christ, we have a Mediator and Advocate before God. The Master of the household, the Lord, has come, as our most wise Creator, to renew and to restore our fallen nature, and by His coming in the flesh has crushed the might of the soul-destroying Ruler, and, uniting the world to the immaterial essences, He has made the Father accessible to the creation (Irmos, Canticle Five of the Canon). Meditating on this, the saintly Bishop Tikhon of Zadonsk exclaims: "For my sake wast Thou born of a Virgin-Mother, born of the Father before all Worlds; for my sake wast Thou swathed in swaddling bands, Thou Who coverest 'the heaven with clouds' and 'Thyself with light as with a garment'; for my sake hast Thou lain Thee down in a poor manger, for Whom Heav-

en is a throne and earth a footstool, for my sake wast nourished on Mother's milk who art the Nourisher of all flesh; for my sake wast carried in a Mother's arms, Who art enthroned above the cherubim and upholdeth all creation; for my sake wast circumcised according to the law, Who art the Creator of the Law; for my sake, being invisible, my God did reveal Himself and lived among men; my God made Himself like unto me, a man, for my sake..."

In the incarnation of the Son of God we see the manifestation of God's great love and good will towards fallen mankind. It was pure, unbounded love for His creation and especially for man as the crown of creation that moved God to offer man a means of reconciliation with Him, whereby the creature itself might be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God (Rom. 8, 21). "For God so loved the world," St. John the Apostle tells us, "that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (Jn. 3, 16).

Dear brothers and sisters! As we remember and glorify the Birth of Christ our Saviour, let us make good use of God's great mercy and grace. Let us open our proud hearts. Let us bring him our faith, mildness, meekness and humility. Let us patiently bear all the storms of this life, let us be generous towards the weaknesses of other people, forgiving one another. Let us follow the Saviour! And may the peace of God rule in our hearts (Col. 3, 15) and may the God of peace and love be with us all. Amen.

Abbot IAKOV PANCHUK



THE FOURTH ALL-CHRISTIAN PEACE CONGRESS

CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR A BETTER WORLD

The Fundamental Address
delivered by Metropolitan NIKODIM
of Leningrad and Novgorod
September 30, 1971



Dear brothers and sisters, dear guests, distinguished gathering!

Pondering on the main theme of the IV All-Christian Peace Assembly, "Our Common Responsibility For a Better World," we Christians, as followers of our Lord and Saviour, are faced, primarily, with the question whether we, in shouldering this responsibility are indeed acting in conformity with our calling and are using those means most suited to our beliefs to fulfil it. Trying to answer this question, we turn to the eternal word of the ever-living God as written in the Holy Scripture and expressed in the wisdom of the Church, in the experience of Her faithful children, in the depths of the Christian conscience.

In fact, should we not avoid involvement in the everyday affairs of the masses, which might well be accounted remote from the "treasures in heaven" (Mt. 6, 20) to be attained by us according to the Sermon on the Mount? Let us put it this way: would the world be more perfect if it were better supplied with material riches, if the latter were distributed in a more just and even way? According to St. Luke (12, 15) "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." Finally, we ask: did our Lord make us responsible for worldly affairs? Does not the very idea of such responsibility run counter to the testimony of the Apostle: "Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth" (Col. 3, 2).

Only an extremely narrow approach to the subject may veil, by some random references to the Bible, the shining truth of the Spirit of Christian teaching: the divine teaching of love, mercy and responsiveness, of consistent work for truth and concern for men in the face of all sorts of evil, of active effort to help one's neighbour. But no Christian ascetic, no holy worker, raised by the Church for self-abnegation extending even to self-mortification and renunciation of everything for the sake of the life to come, has ever tried to spiritualise Christ's teaching to the extent of trying to turn Christians into thinkers indifferent to the world, indulging only in dispassionate arguments about the advantages of heavenly blessings over earthly ones

and exhorting the suffering and oppressed to exercise constant patience in the face of persistent evil or triumphant falsehood.

"For I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked, and ye clothed me not: sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not" (Mt. 25, 42-43). These words of righteous anger, speaking of the outraged love of God, disclose the divine foundation of Christian responsibility for the physical and moral, material and spiritual state of the world and contain, at the same time, a warning against the severe consequences of failing to live up to the responsibility of which we have spoken and to take requisite action.

In the light of this foundation and warning, does it not become obvious that it is not involvement in works of the world and everyday cares that might be blameworthy and detrimental to Christianity, but only involvement in human affairs which might "overcharge hearts" (Lk. 21, 34), consume Christians' love for their Lord and their neighbours, lead to selfishness? "If a brother or sister be naked and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them: Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body; what doth it profit?" (Jas. 2, 15-16). Does this not refer to the everyday matters in which Christians ought to be actively and directly involved? Are not these everyday affairs a sort of test of the Christians' loyalty to their vocation?

In view of the Divine covenant and warning, is it not clear that the statement that a man's life does not depend on his possessions should be understood only in its natural context, as referring to the danger of covetousness (see Lk. 12, 15). As far as indifference towards the needs of one's brothers is concerned, that is interpreted by the Apostle John the Theologian as lack of love, even as hatred, even as a form of murder *ἄνθρωποκτόνος* (1 Jn. 4, 20; 3, 15-18). The Apostle's emphatic words brand the hard-hearted man who "seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him" (1 Jn. 3, 17) and also express horror at the crime committed by those who overlook the needs

of their brothers and become as murderers by refusing love and help, and maim their souls by cruelty.

If the objection should be raised that care for one's neighbour and a merciful attitude should be confined to individual charity or at least to actions in the social field, we would counter it by the question: if these means prove to be insufficient to bring about the justice demanded by our Lord in order to provide an existence worthy of man and adequate food and drink, should we remain indifferent to the fate of millions of people, washing our hands as Pilate did, as a demonstration that we are innocent of the misfortunes to which they are condemned by the whole complex of human injustice? No. The Christian conscience cannot approve of so subjective and distorted a manifestation of the spirit of the Gospel.

No doubt every Christian ought to set his affection on things above, not on things on the earth. However, this does not mean that he has to be indifferent to what is happening around him, in the family, in society, in international affairs, and must concentrate exclusively on the next world. It becomes clear from the context of the Apostle's words that "setting affection on things on the earth" meant as much to Paul as living according to pure customs and aspirations: "Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth: fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence and covetousness, which is idolatry, for which things' sake the wrath of God cometh on the children of disobedience. . . . Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, longsuffering; and above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness; and let the peace of God rule in your hearts" (Col. 3, 5-6, 12, 14-15).

1. The "City of God" and the "Secular City."

Ways of Shouldering Responsibility

Called upon to have communion with God and to seek to live in his image, Christians, as inhabitants of the "city of God," also remain citizens of the "secular city," that is, members of the human family by the very fact that they live upon this earth and have certain moral obligations. In the early period of Church history St. Augustine emphasised the close relation between the Church and the world, between the "city of God" and the "secular city." In this connection he wrote: "The two cities are interrelated and interwoven in this present life until their final separation at the Last Judgement" (*De civitate Dei* I, 35). St. Augustine considered the Providence of the Lord, extending to all men without exception, to be a reason for the inter-relationship between the earthly fate of the Church and that of the rest of mankind. "It is quite unthinkable that God elected to leave the kingdom's men outside the laws of His Providence" (*Ibid.* 5, 11). According to St. Augustine, the character of different epochs and civilizations is determined by the condition of the Church and the "secular city," as well as by the degree and conditions of their influence one

upon the other. "In this present life this city (i. e., the city of God) has never existed in isolation, but both of them, as in the beginning, are always together, though one or the other side predominates in the favour of the human race, which lends to each age its own peculiar character" (*Ibid.* 18, 1).

In Her dealings with the "secular city," the Church does not judge it "before the time" (1 Cor. 4, 5) but warns it against evil and vice. She takes into consideration the steady enlightening influence of God upon human societies and nations. "Even as the well-conducted education of one person proceeds, so the education of the human race... has proceeded: by a series of periods, as though to suit different age groups" (St. Augustine, *op. cit.* 10, 14). The Church recognises many values of the "secular city" as genuine blessings, while bearing in mind a fitting hierarchy of values. "The secular city has its own blessings on earth... It is said unjustly that the blessings it seeks are not blessings.... Only if one neglects those blessings which are the part of the heavenly city... clinging to earthly blessings or regarding them as the only ones or preferring them above the heavenly: only then must disaster inevitably follow" (15, 4).

The historical circumstances in which St. Augustine lived and acted were not such as to encourage him to reach out in thought towards a more objective evaluation of the development trends of the "secular city." In some passages, he considers the "secular city" only as a sphere of base desires and immoral conduct, as an object of diabolic torment. The never ending wars, barbarian invasions, and the hopeless social injustice of his time were the cause of the Saint's pessimistic views on the life of the world, giving rise to a feeling of almost total despair. The following passage illustrates this: "The society of mortal men scattered over the face of the earth, which in spite of differences in local conditions is united because all men have the same nature... is almost always divided against itself, one part dominating over and oppressing another. The conquered submit to the victors, preferring peace and safety not only to domination but even to liberty: and this to such an extent... that those who preferred death to slavery have always been considered an object of the greatest amazement" (18, 2).

It was not until many centuries had gone by that Christian thinking began to reappraise its values on the basis of progress in social relationships stemming from the constant struggle for social justice and stimulated by humanism, enlightenment and revolutionary teaching. All this enabled Christian thinkers to discover a more objective approach to the "secular city," neither idealising nor underestimating it in relation to God's Divine Providence and Purpose of Salvation, which is directing all the world toward the fulness of times when all creatures capable of eternal life are to be miraculously transfigured and gathered together in Christ in the glory of the triumphant Heavenly Jerusalem (Eph. 1, 10; Rom. 8, 21-23; Heb. 12, 22).

The origin of the "secular city" is closely connected with the history of salvation. From the very outset, the preparation of humanity for the future making of all things new (Rev. 21, 5) by

the life-giving power of Godmanhood, has gone forward in two different ways: directly within the Church, or the "city of God," and outside Her visible boundaries, in the "secular city." Of course, the most precious fruit of this world-renewing Divine activity is certainly the Church. Yet the Kingdom of God is more extensive than the sphere of Church life proper. Christ is the Saviour of all men and, while He is also the Head of the Church, He yet acts through the souls of all men for whose salvation He came down to earth (Tim. 2, 4). Contrariwise, it follows that the Church, as the Body of Christ, must, to a greater or lesser degree, extend Her activities to cover the whole of mankind. The gradual renewal of the world, involving the cultivation of sacred elements of the Kingdom of God rooted in the "seminal words" of truth and goodness scattered all over the "secular city" and ripening in its soil, is going on outside the "city of God," too. This process is basically of an ethical nature and stems mainly from the fact that, even after the Fall, human nature retained many features of the incorruptible image of God and the inherent desire for perfection.

This is the reason why the "secular city" is not simply an antipode of the "city of God." Neither is it only life "in the flesh," motivated by egoism and sinful desires. Rather it is the field of battle between good and evil, light and darkness. In this battle, the good citizens of the "city of God" are working together with a multitude of other men of good will, among whom are many who, as St. Augustine said, are friends of that city although they themselves do not yet realise it (op. cit. 1, 3, 6). This struggle is waged from different positions and by various means but its objective significance is the same for all. Christians and other men of good will may, therefore, become as it were natural allies in that sacred fight, some as instruments endowed with the power of thought, some even as servants and co-workers of God in His endeavour to remould mankind.

It is obvious that Christianity cannot and must not limit itself and thus dissolve into simple humanism. The Church being a kingdom that is not of this world, has a high task. "The Church was founded by Jesus Christ," the late Pope John XXIII said, "in order that all men, as time went on, might come to its bosom, finding therein the fulness of a higher life and assurance of salvation" (Mater et Magistra. Introduction). That specific task of the Church is being realised and will continue to be realised not only within the boundaries of the "city of God" but also in everyday human relations—in the family and in national and international spheres. "The soul remains in the body," wrote the unknown author of the Epistle to Diognetus, "but it is the soul that maintains the body's harmony. Christians are of this world and it is their task to preserve harmony in the world.... It is the exalted mission of Christians, according to the will of God, and they must not evade its fulfilment" (Chapter 6).

Sharing in the sacramental life of the Church, Christians acquire the energy and inspiration to live a more profound life than that of this world. However, it would be incorrect to interpret this deeper way of life as individual piety, mystical emotions and participation in divine

service, only. This deeper life of the Christian, that makes the true followers of Christ, the "leaven" (Mt. 13, 33) and "the salt of the earth" (Mt. 5, 13) is not confined to the sphere of Grace which is the Church or to the prayerful home, wellsprings of spiritual life, though these both are. It penetrates the confines of the "secular city," and reaches into all fields of human activity, where it works on not as something exterior or alien but as the organically integrated life of body and soul. Although the means Christians may employ in fulfilling their vocation, duty and responsibility may differ from purely worldly methods because of their greater affinity with the saving love of God, they are not entirely unlike or essentially alien to those employed by any man of good will aiming to remake and perfect human society and inspired by the ideals of peace, freedom and justice. The word of reconciliation (2 Cor. 5, 19), testimony to charity and God's truth, opposition to the enemies of righteousness (Acts 13, 10) and to peace-breakers (Hab. 2, 12), the protection of the oppressed and dispossessed (Is. 1, 17), the defence of human dignity, the championing of the brotherhood of nations are all means used by individual Christians and the Christian Churches which, for the love of Christ, minister to mankind's urgent needs, desire for peace, equity and true humanity.

The Church as the Body of Christ, uniting the multitude of the faithful with and in Christ, naturally contains the fulness of a "more exalted" divine human life. The experience of the joy of spiritual life gives Christians a greater influence upon the people around them. They themselves, actively involved in all good and worthy undertakings, rejecting and opposing all bad and shameful things, as citizens not only of the "heavenly" but also of the "secular city", become advocates of the best aspects of earthly relationships and activities. "When they [Christians] settle down in Greek or non-Greek cities... and adapt themselves to the habits of the country regarding dress, food and the way of life as such, the whole tenor of their life makes all this [involvement in common life] worthy of admiration" ("Epistle to Diognetus," Chapter 5). While providing an example for others, Christians, in their turn, learn a lot from their fellow-citizens within the "secular city"; they come into wide and constant contact with them and thus acquire experience of a down-to-earth approach to reality necessary to help them discern the signs of the times and properly to define their responsibility in a changing and developing world. It is rightly said in the pastoral constitution of the II Vatican Council: "... It is up to all the people of God... to hear, discern and interpret the different signs of our times, judging them in the spirit of the Word of God" (Gaudium et Spes. Sect. 44).

2. A Better World—a World of Justice and Humaneness

In order not to become a mere proclamation of indisputable but abstract truth, the noble mission of peace ought to be combined with a clear understanding of why peace is lacking upon earth. Only if we clarify the real causes of conflicts

and wars can we estimate in what directions we should act; can we compare ways and means of attaining concrete objectives through persistent efforts in order to stimulate developments in the interest of peaceful solutions, lasting peace, the consolidation of brotherhood and mutual assistance among men.

Despite the wide range of causes and concrete circumstances of conflicts emerging and developing in the world of today, we may claim that they are always rooted in the selfish desire for political and economic domination, which entails the establishment or maintenance of relations unjust to certain groups of the population or to whole peoples, as well as implying a forced reconciliation of these groups or peoples with the injustices inflicted upon them. Social injustice is one of the most distinctive kinds of injustice which has given and continues to give rise to almost all other forms of unjust relations and conflicts.

Social injustice and the national oppression which is one of its corollaries have been the major cause of bloodshed and wars from time immemorial. Since the dawn of human history, age has succeeded cruel age in an endless chain of events, stamped by extreme social injustice and disregard of human dignity. For many centuries the cruel and abnormal phenomenon of slavery darkened the life of mankind. Men destined to be the "crown of creation," capable of transforming nature into a beautiful world of harmony and perfection, men "made of one blood" (Acts 17, 26) and thus called by nature to be brothers, to live for one another, to compete in mutual service and selfless charity, found themselves involved in a humiliating state of inequality and division, disgraceful alike for those who had the right to impose their will on others by force and for those reduced to passive submission. Man had become either a heartless oppressor or a mere object in the hands of his master; an object which could be sold, given away as a present, cruelly maltreated or even simply wiped out without let or hindrance.

As time went on, slavery was replaced by other forms of social injustice, outwardly not so rigid, but still as cruel and unnatural as before: relations of feudal dependence, various modifications of the pattern of serfdom. Finally, there emerged a refined but still inhuman form of economic oppression of formally free workers based on private property. These are the major forms of social injustice which up to now have aggravated the life of the human family by numerous manifestations of social inequality, cruelty, callousness, selfishness and dissipation in boundless luxury accompanied by complete indifference to the fate of other men, forgetfulness of the lofty vocation of man and of human dignity.

The best representatives of the Christian Church have always been keenly sensitive to abnormal social relations and have been quick to denounce conditions in which some people enjoy abundantly all the good things of the world and others die of hunger and exhausting toil. Approaching this subject from the ethical point of view, the Church discerned thirst for possessions and misuse of property as the main root of evil. "Ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you... Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you... Behold,

the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth" (Jas. 5: 1-4).

"How far, you rich men," asks St. Ambrose, "do you drive your insane desires? Are you the only inhabitants of the earth? Why do you rule out your fellow-worker in nature and assume lordship over nature? The earth is the common heritage of all—rich and poor. Why then, rich men, do you ascribe the right of property to yourselves alone? Nature, which bears all men in poverty, knows no rich men..." (Migne, P.L.14, col. 731). There are plenty of similar wrathful denunciations in the writings of the Holy Doctors of the Church. Through them we hear the voice of God's judgment, a repetition of the severe sentence spoken in the Old Testament against "those that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow, and the fatherless" (Mal. 3, 5), "that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place" (Is. 5, 8), against those "whose teeth are as swords and their jaw teeth as knives to devour the poor from off the earth, and the needy from among men" (Prov. 30, 14). Resolute condemnations of social injustice can also be found in the writings of St. Basil the Great (Migne, P. Gr. 31, col. 276), St. Gregory the Theologian (Migne, P. Gr. 35, col. 892), St. John Chrysostom (Migne, P. Gr. 61, col. 91, 48, col. 980), St. Asterios of Amas (Migne, P. Gr. 40, col. 209), St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius and other Holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church.

The God of peace (Rom. 15, 33) is also the God of judgment (Is. 30, 18). He calls upon the servants of reconciliation to be also zealous servants of justice. "O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy..." (Mic. 6, 8). One's neighbour must be loved "not in word, neither in tongue; but in deed and in truth" (1 Jn. 3, 18). It is certainly the immediate and primary task of a true peace-maker to fulfil the message of peace in his own life by his own active ministration to his neighbour. Christian charity has always been considered by the Church to be one of the most important aspects of Her service; history provides many examples of the selfless fulfilment of this high moral duty by Christians of different confessions. Yet, as life has shown, it is quite impossible to satisfy the ever-growing and vital needs of modern man, crushed beneath the yoke of social injustice, on the basis of individual or even well-organised collective Christian charity. Where "the bands of wickedness" (Is. 58, 6) are so strong that no appeal to the oppressor's conscience, no attempts at helping the oppressed through charitable efforts lead to tangible results, the spirit of Gospel and Biblical teachings and admonitions calls upon all who would work for peace to give effective support to the efforts of men of good will whose aim is the radical transformation of social relationships.

Speaking of such support, one cannot but emphasise how important it is to overcome the hesitation still existing among Christians themselves. Partly social motive (appurtenance to privileged strata of society and the influence of connections with the ruling classes), partly the habit of excessive spiritualisation of Christian

doctrine and the confining of the activities of the Church exclusively to Her own internal needs, have caused whole sections and groups among Christians to take up neutral and sometimes, unfortunately, even negative positions towards progressive movements at work in the world today for the radical transformation of the contemporary social scene. Unfortunately, there are leaders of Christian Churches who, unable "to discern the signs of the times" (Mt. 16, 3), not only do not encourage their Churches to pull their full weight in the common cause of peace but, on the contrary, sometimes even put on the faded garments of apologists against the new, progressive, social structures.

Such Christians should be mindful of the fact that the followers of Christ should "walk circumspectly, not as fools but as wise, redeeming the time" (Eph. 5, 15-16), trying to understand "what the will of the Lord is" (Ibid. 17). By being reactionary-minded concerning radical social changes, Christians may become guilty of perpetuating intolerable human sufferings arising from various forms of social injustice. If such views were to some extent justifiable at the time when society itself was not mature enough for active and consistent struggle for its rights, then now, when the peoples are displaying great

courage in obtaining rights they understand and know to be their due, reactionary-minded Christians may find themselves guilty of opposing the will of the Creator and Provider and upon themselves "the wrath of God" which "is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and draw unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness" (Rom. 1, 18). Thus Christians may become similar to false prophets "by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of" (2 Pet. 2, 2).

Fundamental social changes may be either evolutionary or revolutionary (i.e., in leaps), according to concrete circumstances, the alignment of opposed forces, the degree of tension created by the forces of the opposition in their endeavour to preserve the *status quo*. In many cases circumstances arise which compel revolutionary forces to take compulsive and even violent steps, sometimes complicated by armed conflict and bloodshed. It is understandable that the very diversity of alternative possibilities which arise in the course of the struggle for radical social change do not permit of a finally valid and flawless formulation of the position which Christians ought to take up in that struggle. Quite a lot is determined by concrete conditions, not to speak of the influence necessarily exerted



In the Presidium of the Congress

by the specific traditions of each particular Christian group (pacifists, for instance, who recognise only non-violent means as admissible for Christian action or, on the contrary, those Christians who, in some cases, allow violent measures to be the only efficient means of eradicating an intolerable evil in a given situation). But some general directions to help Christians to determine their attitudes to radical and, particularly, to revolutionary social changes, can and should be formulated. The first attempt of this kind was made in the CPC in 1965 at the meeting of the Consultative Committee on the continuation of CPC work in Budapest (October 13-17, 1965). The resolution passed by that session reads as follows: "...Our solidarity is with people in Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, the Congo, South Africa, the Dominican Republic and other countries of Latin America who are struggling for their independence or facing the threat of bloodshed... These countries are experiencing the revolutionary process, in the course of which people are fighting and struggling for the eradication of social injustice, racial discrimination, famine and subjugation... We should and will help the oppressed to secure their rights. We recognise revolutionary movements which lead to a higher degree of humanity and to the realisation of all human rights as part of a development leading to genuine progress. We call upon all participants to pave the way for justice without bloodshed."

The general resolution adopted by the Consultative Committee meeting (October 7-23, 1966) in Sofia underlines: "We do not encourage the use of violence in revolutions, but we wish to put on record that a situation can arise in which men are left with no other alternative... We try to study and emphasise the humane objective of revolution as the instrument of a new, peaceful and just world order."

The report to the CPC Working Committee adopted by participants in the III Session of the CPC Theological Commission (Drybergen, Holland, May 1-4, 1967) contains the following thoughts on the subject of Christian involvement in revolutions: "Many people, especially our brothers from South America, often ask us Christians whether they are allowed to take part in violent *coups d'état*. They often add that regimes prevailing in most South American countries are the cause of more loss of life from famine and lack of medical services every year than were the battlefields of the Second World War... The Consultative Committee meeting held in Budapest in 1965 reacted to this question later formulated by our brothers in Drybergen in the affirmative..."

"Following Christ as the Saviour of men and relating their hopes to him as the Lord of history, Christians must try to imbue all human relations and changes—evolutionary, revolutionary and post-revolutionary—with the spirit of love and peace. At the same time, they ought first of all to further the achievement and creation of just human relationships, which are essential for material and spiritual progress."

Some thoughts in the Statement of the III All-Christian Peace Assembly are of importance in determining a proper Christian attitude towards revolutionary changes. That question was dealt with here mainly in the light of the

situation in the countries of the Third World and more particularly Latin America. "Backwardness in most Third World countries," the message runs, "is not a fortuitous phenomenon. It emerged because development, industrialisation and the amassing of wealth in the advanced countries, especially in the countries of Western Europe and the US, were the results of the exploitation of those countries that used to be their colonies, semi-colonies and neo-colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America... What is called aid nowadays is connected with incomparably small counter-services and the constant and flagrant exploitation of the poor by the rich... All that, especially with regard to Latin America, makes revolution unavoidable because radical changes of structures are necessary to the welfare of the people as a whole as soon as it is capable—after acquiring political power—of prevailing over imperialism and initiating efforts to build a society the constant aim of which would be to create global conditions enabling every human being to realise his potentials as a free and responsible agent... The revolutionary process can imply use of force but, on the other hand, exploitation is one of the most stubborn forms of the application of force. In every situation it is necessary to make sure whether non-violent activities might be effective against a system insisting upon its position of power and determined not to make room for equity. In the present international situation the Church must give up its indifference to the above-mentioned problems and encourage active involvement on the part of Christians in the implementation of just and necessary changes. The Church must see that its structure is not an obstacle to active Christian participation in the revolutionary developments essential for the building of a new society based upon social justice, peace and the opportunity for every man to develop his natural gifts to the full."

Speaking of Christian participation in the struggle for radical social change, I should like to mention several examples of this kind of involvement, conducive to a more sober and objective approach to the evaluation of revolutionary movements and to Christian understanding of our moral obligations in revolutionary situations. Latin American brothers are well aware of the name of the Roman Catholic priest Camillo Torres from Colombia who laid down his life so that the revolutionary struggle for a new socio-political structure in the Latin American countries might cease to be considered as something contrary to Christianity and the Gospel. I should like to remind you of another name: that of the well-known Roman Catholic Archbishop Helder Camara from Brazil. "I am a socialist," he says. "God created man in His image to make him His assistant... How, then, can one accept a situation when most people live in slavery and oppression? I do not see any solution in capitalism. I must admit that the Marxist experience makes an exciting impression, that the Soviet Union has made tremendous progress and has completely changed its structure." On the subject of social injustice and opposition to it, Archbishop Camara made the following statement: "There is internal colonialism and external colonialism... I quote only two examples. For the past fifteen years the US have exported from Latin America 11 billion



November 2, 1971. His Holiness Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia received the General Secretary of the Christian Peace Conference, Dr. K. Toth [Hungary], who was presented to the Patriarch by the President of the CPC, Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod.



November 2, 1971. His Holiness Patriarch Pimen received the Rev. Dr. Martin Niemöller, laureate of the International Lenin Peace Prize, Chairman of the German Peace Society, with his wife. Also present at the reception was Archbishop Yuveneriy of Tula and Belev.



November 2, 1971. His Holiness Patriarch Pimen received the President of the International Association of Brother-Cities Giorgio La Pira (Italy). On the photograph: Professor Giorgio La Pira, His Holiness Patriarch Pimen, Archbishop Yuveneraliy of Tula and Belev, and the editor of the magazine "Note di cultura" Giovanni Giorgio.



December 12, 1971, in the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Epiphany. His Holiness Pimen welcomes Archbishop Dr. Martti Simoëkki, in Moscow on his way to attend a theological discussion at Zagorsk as head of a delegation from the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland.



September 5, 1971, the day of the opening session of the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches: the Orthodox participants in the session celebrating the Divine Liturgy in the Patriarchal Cathedral of St. Alexander Nevskiy in Sofia.



The delegations from the Russian Orthodox Church and the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland who took part in the theological discussion at the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra 13—16, December, 1971.



December 2, 1971, in the Throne Room of the patriarchal suite in the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra. His Holiness Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia with professors and lecturers of the Moscow Theological Academy and Seminary.

dollars; Jamaica is obliged to supply 3,200 tons of sugar for one Canadian tractor. As regards internal colonialism, a reference to Brazil suffices. There are areas in northern Brazil which could hardly be called even underdeveloped. Some areas are still at a pre-historic stage of evolution, and people living like cave-men are happy to find food on rubbish dumps. What should I say to them? That they must suffer in order to enter paradise? No, eternity begins here on earth and not in paradise.... It is we priests who are responsible for the fatalism with which the poor have constantly reconciled themselves to poverty and underdeveloped nations to their status...." Finally, on the subject of revolutionary revolt, Archbishop Camara says: "I cannot see myself as anything but a clergyman.... I cannot imagine myself without my clergyman's robe. If the situation required it, I, as a priest, would have to take up arms.... I have never regarded it as immoral or contradictory to Christianity to use arms against oppressors. The Church requires me to be engaged in the salvation of souls. But how can I seek the salvation of the soul, if the body is not free? My aim is to send to heaven men and not experimental dogs, denatured by torture and with empty stomachs."

Social injustice, the most characteristic feature of which was and is still the relations of capital to hired labour, is growing more complex in the modern, changing world, due to other forms of injustice closely connected with or deriving from it. In the first place there is economic oppression in poor and underdeveloped ex-colonial and semi-colonial countries exerted by economically powerful monopolistic sections of the affluent states (ex-metropolitan powers) or other states pursuing the policy of imperialist expansion. This kind of oppression, often called neocolonialism, has the following hidden motives: to obtain the greatest possible profit from natural resources in the developing countries and to slow up the tempo of their own independent development as much as possible. Economic pressure is often bound up with political pressure, with various threats and particularly with the policy of covert interference in the internal affairs of the developing countries.

Racial discrimination and apartheid are two distinctive terms denoting social injustice as well as the pursuit of economic expansion and a colonialist policy.

The anti-Christian nature of the matter must be clear to all of us. On this occasion I consider it essential to turn our thoughts to that zealous champion of civil rights for American Negroes, the Baptist preacher Dr. Martin Luther King, whose great life, full of sacrifices, ended tragically in April 1968. We warmly welcome in our midst Dr. Ralph Abernathy, Dr. King's closest associate and successor, who is the head of the Conference of the South Christian Leadership. We sympathise deeply with the aims advocated by Dr. Abernathy and his colleagues, and it is our ardent wish that the blessings of God may fall abundantly on their struggle to overcome racial discrimination in the United States.

Many Christian Churches, national and international organisations and movements are

making serious efforts to help eradicate all forms of racial discrimination and apartheid. I should like to point to the IV World Council of Churches Assembly held in Uppsala (July 1968) in which representatives of most of our Churches participated, which decided to ask the World Council of Churches "to elaborate a detailed programme on the crucial subject of racism for the guidance of the member Churches." The meeting of the Central Committee of the WCC held in Canterbury in August 1969 inaugurated a programme to combat racism. It was decided to establish a fund amounting to 500,000 US dollars for this purpose, the money to be distributed among organisations pleading for economic, social and political independence for victims of racial discrimination. The meeting of the Executive Committee of the WCC, held in Arnoldshain (the GFR) in August-September 1970, approved of the policy line of the programme to combat racism and highlighted financial support for organisations actively opposing racial oppression.

At the Central Committee meeting of the WCC in Addis Ababa (January 1971) one of the central issues was the programme to combat racism which was exhaustively discussed and met with the unanimous approval of the participants. The Central Committee supported the UN decision to declare the year 1971 as International Year of UN activities against racism and racial discrimination. The WCC programme to combat racism was also dealt with at a meeting of the Executive Committee in Sofia (September 1971). I think that this field of WCC activity in which our member Churches are involved, deserves the deepest sympathy and every support.

The most striking proofs of the mass suffering caused by different forms of injustice are provided by statistics on the total number of people on earth suffering from hunger, poverty, lack of medical supplies and education. I shall therefore confine myself to a few examples. According to the UN report on the food situation in the world today (1970), 375 million people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are living on the verge of starvation. Out of the total number, over 130 million are from Latin America (according to a report by the UN regional conference on food and agriculture held in Venezuela in 1970). According to a statement by Dr. Roberto Castillo, Nicaraguan Deputy Minister for Public Health, over 200 children, out of every 1,000 born annually in Latin America, die of hunger. Dr. Castillo emphasised that Latin American children are in a disastrous situation. Over 40 per cent of the children who are admitted to elementary school cannot complete their course because they are obliged to work and help their parents.

The problem of trying to combat all kinds of human injustice is closely connected with the fight for peace, for peaceful co-existence and the promotion of good human relations. On the one hand, "no peace is possible without justice" (1st All-Christian Peace Assembly) "...and on Earth Peace" (Prague, 1961, p. 120), while real lasting peace depends upon victory over evil in individual, social and international life. From this point of view the issues of radical social

change and Christian commitment are most urgent and crucial. "No time must be wasted," Pope Paul VI rightly claims in his encyclical "Populorum Progressio." The number of suffering people is too great, the gap separating the progress of some from the stagnation, even the regression of others, grows wider... There are some situations, the injustice of which cries to heaven. When the population of whole vast areas of the earth, deprived of the most basic necessities, lives in such dependence as to prevent all initiative and responsibility as well as all cultural development and participation in political and social life, there is a great temptation to destroy by force such shameful oppression of human dignity" (29 and 30).

On the other hand, only peace can create a climate in which the fruits of real justice can ripen to maturity. "The fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace" (Jas. 3, 18). From the Christian point of view peace on earth (Lk. 2, 14) is considered as "shalom" in the broad sense of the word. It implies a normal condition of human society, the material resources and spiritual energy of which are not dissipated in fratricidal wars

but are directed by men of good will in a wise and purposeful way toward the creation of a more perfect way of life which will gradually bring about the establishment of the fulness of the Gospel's Kingdom of God as far as this is possible on earth. It is evident that the concept of "shalom" is not identical with secular concepts of peace as absence of war and the practical implementation of the principles of peaceful co-existence. There can be no doubt that the abolition of wars in human life and competition between different social systems is a prerequisite for the efforts of men of good will, including followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, to create without hindrance a better world than we have at present, a world of just human relations, the ideal prototype of which for Christians would be "shalom," that is, that world of harmonious and full life that was revealed in the Incarnation, Redemption and Resurrection, imbued with the power of Grace which will gradually transform the cosmos God created into a new creation, destined to enter into the glory of the life to come...

(to be continued)



On the Occasion of the Eightieth Birthday of Dr. Martin Niemöller



His life of some people is measured not in years but by what they have accomplished on the way they have trodden. This is true of Pastor Dr. Martin Niemöller, a man of great heart, penetrating mind and strong will. It is with this "ardent heart" of his, as his German colleagues rightly say, that he has fought in the past and continues to fight "for his Church and for his people" and, we would add, for the good of mankind, present and future. This kind of struggle is the outward expression of that heart, of the inexhaustible richness of his love for his neighbour. However, as is so often the case, this love sometimes makes for anxiety and brings suffering to the bearer of it. Nevertheless, all those who, like Pastor Niemöller, try to follow their Lord in bearing the cross of love and suffering must live according to the dictates of the heart. They have no choice.

Once it was said that Pastor Martin Niemöller had taken upon himself the mission of the Old Testament prophet Jeremiah. We know that Jeremiah and other prophets of the Old Testament raised their voices against the vices and faults of their times; in other words the inspired endeavour of these prophets was caused by their

active participation in the realities of their world. Dr. Martin Niemöller also bases his views and actions on the realities of life.

Pastor Niemöller's actions, audacious as they may seem, are based on a profound analysis of the contemporary social and political situation, an analysis from the point of view of a servant of Christ. We are convinced that the spirit of evangelical truth and love help him to fulfil his ministry with the utmost effectiveness.

We know Pastor Niemöller as a distinguished participant in the ecumenical movement and a gallant fighter for peace. At the same time, we cannot imagine him otherwise than as the representative of the interests and destinies of his own people. The personal struggle and sufferings of Dr. Niemöller are inextricably bound up with his fatherland, Germany. He is always with his people: whether in the uniform of a naval officer or in the black pastor's jacket, or in the prison-clothes proper to the inmate of a concentration camp. He is with them always: in the pulpit at church, at meetings of West German peace movements, on the tribune of inter-Christian or other international forums. The future of the German people, the inner development of the Federal Republic of Germany, the part played by



Dr. Martin Niemöller

this state in international affairs; all these things are objects of Dr. Niemöller's most profound concern and he acts always in a spirit of genuinely progressive aspiration as a convinced advocate of the democratic development of West Germany and as an irreconcilable opponent of German militarism and revanchism.

It is this circumstance which defines Dr. Niemöller's politics, which not infrequently bring him into conflict with religious and secular society in his homeland. For Dr. Niemöller realistic politics are also national politics. Remembering the fact that, in his own lifetime, he has witnessed two world catastrophes precipitated by Germany, Pastor Niemöller endeavours to protect his people and peoples of the other countries of Europe from a new world catastrophe which, for many of them, would mean destruction.

The only justifiable policy in our time, Dr. Niemöller considers, is the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. Such is the political credo of Martin Niemöller, and it must strike a chord of response in the mind of every person capable of honest, realistic thinking. "In our day the end has come for policies involving the use of force and the abuse of power; now our programme, whether we like it or not, must be a programme of peace." It was with these words that Pastor Niemöller defined his own policy of "pacifism."

In Dr. Niemöller's own words he has, all his life, been "learning Christian pacifism" which, in his vocabulary, means conducting a vigorous fight for peace. The significance of the results

he has achieved in this fight from the point of view of progressive, international opinion is most suitably attested by the award of an International Lenin Peace Prize, his many speeches against the atomic arming of Germany and in favour of general disarmament, of preserving the *status quo* established as a result of World War II, of international recognition for the German Democratic Republic, against US aggression in Vietnam, and in favour of the right of the Vietnamese people to decide their own fate, his pleas for peace in the Middle East, his long and fruitful service in the Christian Peace Conference and in the World Peace Council, his ecumenical endeavours through the World Council of Churches and the Conference of European Churches—all these are aspects of Dr. Niemöller's many-sided application of his inexhaustible energy, the source of which springs from his profound conviction in the righteousness of his mission and his ardent faith in God as Creator and as Providence.

Both in work for peace and in ecumenical work Pastor Niemöller acts as an incorruptible witness of and participant in the events of his time, as the tribune of his contemporaries.

Pastor Niemöller's reaction to the events of his time is significant because he actively encourages his fellow-countrymen and those who share his convictions to work together in unity towards a solution of the problems now facing humanity; whether these be in connection with new hotbeds of war, with the oppression of people of whatever origin, or with hunger. Human solidarity and Christian solidarity—these are the forces which Pastor Niemöller calls to meet the needs of the contemporary world. Are not the recent actions which have so improved the atmosphere in mutual relations between the German Federal Republic and the USSR and between the German Federal Republic and Poland, and are now undoubtedly influencing the whole development of international relations in Europe, to some extent the result of the channelling of these forces to serve the needs of the day?

Christians in the Soviet Union see Pastor Niemöller as a friend of our socialist homeland who understands the significant part it has to play in the transformation of human society. The children of the Russian Orthodox Church also appreciate Pastor Niemöller's grasp of the role of the Church in carrying on Her evangelical mission in a socialist society.

Dr. Niemöller's opinions and actions bear witness to the fact that he is a firm friend and ready to cooperate with every man of good will, be he a believer or a non-believer, so long as he devotes himself to the service of his neighbours. For this we are grateful to Pastor Niemöller. May the Lord preserve the spiritual and physical powers of our brother Martin Niemöller for many years to come.

**NIKODIM,
Metropolitan
of Leningrad and Novgorod,
President of the Christian
Peace Conference**



A SPEECH OF GREETING

by Metropolitan NIKODIM of Leningrad and Novgorod
at the Reception Given by the Holy Synod of the Church
of Hellas in Honour of the Guests Invited to Take Part
in the Celebration of the 150th Anniversary
of the Liberation of Greece

Your Beatitudes, Your Eminences,
Your Graces, Venerable Assembly!

With heartfelt sincerity I greet you, brother Hellenes, the Holy Church of Hellas and all the Greek people, on this day of great and fateful memory in the History of your country. One hundred and fifty years ago, by the heroic efforts of your people, was laid the foundation of national independence on which was to rise a free Greece. The people, having cast off the yoke of foreign domination and slavery, acquired the opportunity to labour in peace, to develop and increase the spiritual and cultural inheritance of their forefathers. The winning of freedom was the essential basis for the many-sided development of the nation as an independent state. By selfless toil the Greek people laid the foundations of a national economic and social life. Church life was given a new form by the establishment of an autocephalous Church of Hellas.

A characteristic feature of the Local Eastern Christian Churches is their traditional tie with the people, their active participation in national life.

A vivid example of this was the work of the Orthodox Church in your country during the period of struggle for emancipation from the yoke of slavery and the establishment of independence. Surrounded by national and religious hostility the Orthodox Church of Hellas proved itself to be a powerful organising force, inspiring the people to raise the sacred banner of the struggle for freedom.

The trust and love which the sons of your country showed towards their Church in the difficult days of the struggle for independence bear witness to the profound and many-sided penetration of the Christian spirit into the hearts of a people who see the Church as the symbol of their freedom. Indeed, the trials were unbearable, the night of slavery seemed endless, but the torch of the Orthodox Church and the consciousness of nationhood which it illuminated never went out, it continued to burn and, at the last, blazed up in a brilliant flame. The Greek Church inclined with maternal tenderness over its children and for whole centuries in its churches and monasteries the living word of its preachers nourished in their hearts the belief that one day they would regain

Delivered May 3, 1971.

their freedom. In those hard years of struggle, the Church maintained the loftiness of its calling, abiding in unbroken unity with the people. The inspiring image of the late Patriarch Grigorios is a vivid personification of its sacrificial service. His Holiness Grigorios was a vivid example of the type of hierarch-patriot, a hierarch who lived the life of his people, bearing together with them all the sorrows and troubles of life, an example of a Christian bishop who did not betray his flock but remained faithful to the evangelical commandment of love "even unto death." Moreover, he was not alone in devoting his whole life to the liberation of his people: bishops, priests, monks and all Christians were loyal and steadfast in their devotion to their much-suffering native land. And we believe that all those who have given their lives wholly to body forth the truth and love of God have been accepted into the halls of the blessed, while their memory remains alive in the hearts of their grateful descendants from generation to generation.

For me, a Russian metropolitan and representative of the Russian Orthodox Church, it is only proper to recall that my country also, and my people, helped in the delivery of Ancient Hellas. In my country, in the Russia which shares your faith, in the Black Sea town of Odessa, the patriotic Greek national organisation of "Philike Hetairia" functioned successfully and did much to awaken the desire for freedom amongst the people of Hellas and to organise their struggle for emancipation. The Church in Russia, also, and all Russian people, by various ways and means did what they could to help this organisation in its truly sacred labours. In those years when the Greek people were waging a bitter struggle against their foreign overlords, Russians, too, were shedding their blood at the front in war against the oppressors of Greece. The Russian-Turkish war in the Balkans

helped to create a military situation favourable to the Greek patriots and helped to guarantee the preservation and confirmation of the freedom they had won. For the military operations conducted by Russia did not allow the oppressors of Greece to use their military might to put down the freedom-loving people of Hellas.

In these solemn days, as you remember this unforgettable occasion in your history, I offer our brothers in the Faith my warmest congratulations and wish the Greek people freedom and independence, prosperity and success in the building up of a peaceful life to the good of their country and of peace throughout the world, so that the traditional and ancient relations between Greece and my country may be for ever useful, sincere, and conducive to the development of cooperation for the benefit of both. We live in a world of many problems, on the just solution of which depends the present and future of mankind. And it is but our duty to introduce the spirit of peace and love to divided humanity when we actively help the peoples to create a lasting basis for a sure peace by our participation in the solution of these problems. What can be better than to seek peace, and ensure it (1 Pet. 3, 11), to preach the Gospel and encourage the growth of love and equity?

In the name of the Russian Orthodox Church I greet His Beatitude Archbishop Ieronimos, the bishops, clergy and God-fearing laity of the Orthodox Church of Hellas, and welcome the whole Greek people who have preserved and will continue to preserve unchanged their brotherly relations with my people and with the Russian Orthodox Church to which I belong.

May the blessing of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Preserver of the world, Hellas, your Holy Church and your people, be upon you!



The Celebrations in the Church of Hellas



In 1971 the Orthodox Church of Hellas celebrated the 150th anniversary of the rising of the Greek people which successfully re-established their national freedom. At the invitation of the Primate of this Church, His Beatitude Ieronimos, Archbishop of Athens and All Hellas, delegations from the Local Orthodox Churches arrived to take part in the solemnities, which lasted from May 1 to May 11, 1971. The Russian Church was represented by Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod, Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate (and head of the delegation), Father Nikolay Gundyayev, a lecturer at the Leningrad Theological Academy, Andrey Mazur, Archdeacon of the Cathedral of St. Nicholas and the Epiphany in Leningrad, and G. N. Skobey, Secretary of the Mission of the Moscow Patriarchate at the World Council of Churches in Geneva.

The participation of the Orthodox delegations in the celebration of the anniversary began with prayer. On May 1, in an Athens cathedral, His Beatitude Archbishop Ieronimos celebrated Great Vespers, attended by the members of the Holy Synod of the Church of Hellas and their guests.

The following day, Sunday, May 2, in the same cathedral, a solemn Liturgy was celebrated by the Primates and the leaders of the delegations from the Local Orthodox Churches: His Beatitude the Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria Nicholas VI, His Beatitude Patriarch Justinian of All Roumania, Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod, priests and deacons from the delegations. Present at the Liturgy were the Deputy Prime Minister of Greece, the Minister of the Interior S. Pattakos and other official persons.

From the cathedral the Orthodox delegations proceeded to the historical and ethnological museum to see the exhibition of ecclesiastical reliquaries and objects associated with the struggle of the Orthodox Church and the people of Greece to free their country from Turkish dominion. The exhibition had been specially organised by Metropolitan Dionysios of Servia and Kozan.

In the evening of the same day those taking part in the celebrations were present at a youth festival held by boys and girls of the Catechism schools of Greece in the Athenian stadium. Present at the festival were many hierarchs, representatives of the clergy and laity of the Church of Hellas and also a number of government officials. Archbishop Ieronimos greeted the young people at the stadium in the name of all the delegations of the Orthodox Churches after which there was a programme of scenes re-enacted from the stirring history of the participation of the Orthodox Church in the struggle for the liberation and revival of Greece.

On Monday May 3, those taking part in the celebrations attended the consecration of a hospital for the clergy of the Church of Hellas, built on the initiative of Archbishop Ieronimos and thanks to a generous donation by the nun Paraskeva (Peppa). From there they went on

a pilgrimage to the Church of St. Nicholas "Acharnon," where they were shown examples of modern Greek icon-painting, after which they visited Athens University. The Theological Faculty of the University extended a warm welcome to the delegates of the Orthodox Churches.

That evening the delegations of the Orthodox Churches were present at the consecration and opening of the Inter-Orthodox Centre of the Church of Hellas in the Monastery of Pendeli. Among those present were the Deputy Prime Minister of Greece S. Pattakos and other persons of official status. The rite of consecration was performed by Archbishop Ieronimos who welcomed the company, expressing joy and thanks to God for the presence of the distinguished representatives of the hierarchies of the Orthodox Sister-Churches.

After the consecration of the Centre, the guests were shown all over the premises, saw an exhibition, the old "secret school" in the crypt, and attended an official dinner given at the Centre by the Holy Synod of the Greek Church, at which Metropolitan Iakovos of Mitilena, Chairman of the Synodal Commission for Foreign Affairs, and Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod, Chairman of the Department for External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, exchanged speeches.*

The programme of the fourth day of the visit began with attendance at the laying of a foundation stone for a "Women's Student Hostel" and a tour of the Monastery of Daphne where the guests admired the Byzantine mosaics. After this they went on to Corinth where they were made most welcome by Metropolitan Panteleon of Corinth.

That evening the Athenian Society (DIM) gave an official dinner attended by all members of the delegations of Orthodox Churches, and by members of the Synod and the hierarchy of the Church of Hellas.

The morning of May 5 was the occasion of the patronal feast of the Church of St. Irina, the first Cathedral Church of the city, and Metropolitan Ignatius of Laodicea (the Church of Antioch) celebrated the Liturgy, at which the guests and a great multitude of believers were assembled in prayer.

After this the representatives of the Orthodox Churches foregathered in the Assembly Hall of the Holy Synod of the Church of Hellas in the Monastery of Petraki at an unofficial meeting to discuss the statement proposed by the Holy Synod of the Church of Hellas on "The Position of the Church of Hellas with Regard to the Ecumenical Movement." The discussion was opened by Archbishop Ieronimos. He thanked the hierarchs of the Orthodox Churches for their participation in the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the liberation of Greece and for their readiness to take part in the discussion of the proposed theme.

* Metropolitan Nikodim's speech is published in this number, pp. 44-45.

The first to speak on this theme was Patriarch Justinian of All Roumania. He said that the problems of the ecumenical movement had been carefully studied by the Holy Synod and the professors of his own Church, particularly at the time when the Roman-Catholic Church made Her ecumenic decisions, the significance of which might be equated with Pan-Catholicism. Taking this into account, the Roumanian Church had come to the conclusion that the only way all-Christian ecumenism can possibly succeed is on condition that the World Council of Churches does not show itself to represent Pan-Protestantism. For this reason, the Orthodox should carefully avoid the pitfall of presenting themselves as Pan-Hellenism, for the common goal should be all-Christian ecumenism. Only with such an approach would it be possible to achieve that unity in variety in which each Church would preserve its own traditions. There should be no place for prosceletysing or for interference in the internal affairs of another Church.

After Patriarch Justinian, Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod took the floor and made two remarks about the text of the Statement. In the first place, he said it was right that all the Churches should act in conjunction with respect to the subject under discussion. Without doubt, it was the duty of each Church to be circumspect in its own actions. At the same time, the Churches should also be circumspect in all their actions and initiatives when working together. Equally the actions of any one Church should be judged with the utmost circumspection

by the Sister-Churches and conditions of life in any given situation should always be taken into consideration. At the same time it was only right to avoid making hasty judgements about the actions of any other Local Church and the basis for such judgements should be not newspaper accounts, by far from invariably accurate, but official documentary sources. The second remark was to the effect that, while in the last point of the exposition there was talk of cooperation between Orthodox and non-Orthodox in the sphere of distribution of charity, it seemed to him that this approach was too narrow, because it did not cover all the wants or all those other problems of modern man which are in crying need of solution and call for the participation of the whole of Orthodoxy. The cooperation of all Orthodox Churches should be based on the decisions of the Pan-Orthodox Councils. Unity of action in the Orthodox Churches might have a good influence on those of other faiths.

Other hierarchs also gave their views on the Greek statement.

In the evening the visitors prayed in the Chapel of the Rhizarion Theological College, where Metropolitan Maksim of Lovech conducted Vespers and spoke on the Greek struggle for independence and the sympathy and active participation in that struggle of Russians and Bulgarians. After Vespers the guests were invited to attend a concert of Byzantine sacred music and then to a dinner held by the college authorities. The day ended with a concert of modern



A group of hierarchs taking part in the ceremony of the laying of the cornerstone of the Church of Sfs. Cyril and Methodius.

church music in the students' Hostel "King Paul."

The sixth day of the visit was devoted to a pilgrimage to the Island of Aegina to honour the recently canonised Bishop Nectarius of Pendopolis (+November 9, 1920, canonised November 9, 1970). On landing, the visitors met with a warm reception from Metropolitan Ierotheos of Idra, Spets and Aegina, the clergy and the people of the island. In the Cathedral of the Dormition, Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod led a special prayer service (moleben), after which Metropolitan Ierotheos made a cordial speech of welcome to the visiting Orthodox hierarchs and those who accompanied them. Replying on behalf of all the pilgrims, Metropolitan Nikodim gave the Easter greeting to all those present and congratulated them on the occasion of the anniversary. Speaking of the heroism of the Greek people and their Church during the years of foreign domination and of the actual rising, Metropolitan Nikodim spoke also of the part played by Russia and Her Church and people to further the cause of national emancipation. From the Cathedral they all set out for the Monastery of St. Nectarius, where they reverently bowed before the holy relics of the Saint. After a meal at the monastery, over which Metropolitan Ierotheos and Metropolitan Dorotej of Prague exchanged cordial speeches, the Orthodox delegations left for Athens where that evening they were invited to attend an official dinner organised in their honour by the Greek government. This was the end of the official programme of the Orthodox delegations' stay in Athens. Still to come was a visit to Thessalonica with stops in various towns of Thessely and Macedonia. While the other members of the delegations made this interesting journey, Patriarch Nicholas of Alexandria, Patriarch Justinian of Roumania, Metropolitan Maksim of Lovech and Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod went to Addis Ababa to attend the enthronement of the newly-elected Patriarch of the Ethiopian Church, His Holiness Abuna Theophilos.

Those who remained left on May 7 for Thessalonica, where they arrived in the afternoon of May 10, having been rejoined by the hierarchs who had left for Ethiopia. At the border they were met by His Holiness Leonidos, Metropolitan of Thessalonica (so, by an ancient tradition,

he is styled within the borders of his own diocese), accompanied by hierarchs, clergy and professors of the Theological Faculty of the University of Thessalonica, who escorted their guests on into the Cathedral city. The delegations visited the Church of St. Gregory Palamas and bowed before his venerable relics, and in the Church of St. Sophia the Divine Wisdom they attended evening service.

On May 11 on the feast day of the Thessalonian brothers Sts. Cyril and Methodius, in the Church of St. Dimitry, the Liturgy was celebrated by Metropolitan Maksim of Lovech, Metropolitan Vasilij of Warsaw, Metropolitan Dorotej of Prague, Metropolitan Afanasiy of Epiphania, Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod, Metropolitan Emelian of Slavonica and Metropolitan Nicodemus of Zikhnon and Neurokop. After the Liturgy they all went on to attend the ceremony of the laying of the cornerstone of a new church dedicated to Sts. Cyril and Methodius. Apart from the delegations, the rite of the founding of the church was attended by many representatives of the hierarchy, clergy and laity of the Church of Hellas, by the Prime Minister Mr. Papadopoulos and by several other members of the government. Speeches were made by Metropolitan Leonidos of Thessalonica and Mr. Papadopoulos.

In honour of the delegations from other Orthodox Churches Metropolitan Leonidos gave an official dinner at which Archbishop Ieronimos, the members of the Synod and other hierarchs of the Church of Hellas were also present. At the dinner the Minister of Northern Greece, L. Patras, made a speech to which Metropolitan Maksim of Lovech replied on behalf of the guests.

So ended the visit of the delegations of the Orthodox Churches come to share the Church of Hellas's celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the rising which liberated their country from foreign rule.

The Orthodox delegations returned to their own Churches in their own countries with hearts full of profound thankfulness to the Lord and Giver of all good things for the joy they had had in communion with their hosts, the Church of Hellas, and with one another as brothers in the Holy Orthodox Faith.

GRIGORIY SKOBEY

THEOLOGICAL TALKS "ARNOLDSHAIN-V"

Between Representatives of the Evangelical Church in the Federal Republic of Germany and the Russian Orthodox Church

20-28 October, 1971

A RESUME OF THE THEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

From October 20-28, 1971, in a House of the Berneuchen Movement (the Monastery of Kirchberg near the town of Herb on the River Neckar) there took place the fifth discussion between the theologians of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Evangelical Church of Germany. Taking part in the conference were—

from the Russian Orthodox Church: the Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod (the head of the delegation), Archbishop Aleksiy of Düsseldorf; Bishop Iriney of Baden and Bavaria; Bishop Mikhail of Astrakhan and Enotayevsk; Professor Archpriest L. Voronov of the Leningrad Theological Academy and N. Gundyayev, Dotsent of the Leningrad Theological Academy;

from the Evangelical Church of Germany: the President of the Department of Exterior Church Relations Dr. A. Wischmann (the head of the delegation); Professor Dr. G. Harbsmaier of Goettingen University; Professor Dr. L. Goppelt and Dr. G. Kretschmar of Munich University; Professor Dr. von Lilienfeld of Erlangen University; Professor Dr. E. Schlink and Dr. R. Slenczka of Heidelberg University. Professor Dr. E. Wolf, Professor of Goettingen University and a contributor to these discussions and to their preparatory organisation ever since the end of the fifties, had died on September 12, 1971; however the paper which he had had time to write was read and discussed.

The talks were a continuation of earlier conferences: at Arnoldsheim in 1959, Zagorsk in 1963, Hochteln in 1967 and Leningrad in 1969. The main theme of the papers and discussions was: "The Risen Christ—the Salvation of the World." The basic thoughts of the papers and discussions on this theme were set out in the form of theses.

Those who took part in the discussions were united by faith in the One Lord Jesus Christ Who by His Cross and Resurrection has transformed the world. In Him was revealed the saving love and glory of God for which the believing Christian waits together with all

creation (Rom. 8, 18 et. seq.). The task laid upon Christians is, by word and deed, to preach salvation on the Cross and in the Resurrection, achieved once and for all for the whole world and for all time, to strive for the unity of the separated Christians of our day, for justice and peace between individuals and amongst peoples.

Theology is doxology, a means of glorifying God. For this reason the participants in the talks did not only argue about how they understood the glory of the Crucified and Resurrected Lord but praised Him in their prayers.

THESES OF THE REPORTS

1. "The truth of the Cross and the Resurrection as reflected in the pronouncements of the Father of the Early Church St. Athanasius of Alexandria and of the reformer Martin Luther."

According to the reports of Bishop Mikhail of Astrakhan and Enotayevsk and of Professor Dr. G. Kretschmar.

1. Belief in the verity and salutary significance of the sufferings, death on the Cross, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ is the cornerstone of the Christian life, thought and activity both of the Church as a whole and of every believer in particular.

2. For St. Athanasius, in agreement with the testimony of the New Testament, the Cross and Resurrection of Christ are the fulfilment and culminating point of God's works of salvation, by which God, through His Son, through the incarnate Word, redeems mankind which has fallen away from Him and under the power of death, and gives it life, resurrection and the knowledge of God, in this way continuing to effect His creative purpose. It is precisely the cross which, for St. Athanasius, is the emblem of Christ, the strength and truth of which is made manifest both to Christians and to non-Christians.

3. The Triune God effected the salvation of man by the Cross and Resurrection of Jesus Christ; such, too, was the invariable teaching of Martin Luther. The reformer of Württemberg

described salvation as justification, quoting St. Paul: Christ "was delivered for our offences and was raised again for our justification" (Rom. 4,25). This salvation or justification is still being effected to this day by the Crucified and Risen Lord in the means of grace, in the Gospel, in the sacraments of the Church. He calls people to faith and renews them inwardly; through the inevitable bearing of the cross he draws Christians to participate in His death and Resurrection. This transformation of man remains an inner, private event in spite of the fact that the live faith of Christians always finds expression in their deeds (I Cor. 6,20).

4. The Christian doctrine of salvation should always be founded on the apostolic and Early Church's confession of the universality of the salvation accomplished on the Cross and in the Resurrection of Christ. The lordship of Christ over all humanity, His victory over death and gift of new life still to this day remain hidden, only to be grasped by faith (Col. 3,3; Rom. 8,24.)

5. The truth of the Cross and the Resurrection preached by the apostles is witnessed by Holy Writ, confessed in the ancient creeds and is the foundation of pastoral teaching. In spite of confessional differences, both for Orthodoxy and for the doctrine of the Reformation (particularly for Luther) the Cross and Resurrection for all their polarity (the self-emptying and the revelation of the glory of the Lord) are indivisible one from the other, being the single act of salvation of the Incarnated Son of God.

II. "The Resurrection of Christ: its reality and its effect."

According to the reports of Professor Dr. L. Goppelt and Archbishop Aleksey of Düsseldorf.

1. According to the testimony of the New Testament the religious life and thought of the primitive Church was conditioned and defined by the Paschal kerygma (that is by the preaching of the Crucified but Resurrected Lord). This it is which is the basis and starting-point of all the subsequent Gospels and Church doctrine.

2. The Resurrection is attested by the manifestations of the Resurrected (I Cor. 15, 3-5). They were not subjective visions. The Apostles bear witness to them as to meetings with the Lord resurrected in the flesh.

3. Through the Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ emerge His dignity and ambassadorship. Through Him from now on for ever until the end of days God has established His saving Kingdom (I Cor. 15, 20-28). In the Resurrection of Christ we have the beginning of a new creation (Rom. 8, 18-25) and the first fruits of the resurrection of the dead (I Cor. 15, 20).

4. The Paschal testimony does not tell us simply of one, isolated miracle. In the Resurrection of Jesus Christ the self-revelation of God, to which the Old Testament bears witness and which was a fact of the actual earthly ministry of Christ, achieves its purpose. The Paschal ke-



Participants in the talks at "Arnoldshain-V": the representatives of the Evangelical Church of Germany (FRG). From left to right: Professor Dr. R. Slenczka, Professor Dr. L. Goppelt, President Dr. A. Wischmann, Professor Dr. E. Schlink, Professor Dr. G. Kretschmar, Professor Dr. G. Harbsmaier.

igma (I Cor. 15, 3-5) confirms man in the faith when this divine self-revelation is announced as its central point and, by the power of the Holy Spirit, converts its hearers to God.

III. "The Resurrection and transformation of the World in the light of God's actions in Jesus Christ and of man's response to them."

According to the reports of Professor-Archpriest L. Voronov, Professor Dr. E. Wolf (†) and Professor Dr. R. Slenczka.

1. The purpose of the Incarnation, the earthly life, redeeming passion, death and Resurrection of the Son of God was to save humanity from sin, to destroy the works of the Devil (1 Jn. 3, 8), to give people the blessing of the future resurrection from the dead and to make them partakers of eternal life with God for their transformation from glory to glory (2 Cor. 3, 18).

2. The works of God in the world and the transformation of the world through Jesus Christ we can understand only in the light of the gospel of the Cross and the Resurrection. This gospel shows us how God worked the salvation of all the world, created and preserved by Him but alien away from Him, and how He is leading the world to perfection.

3. The Cross and Resurrection, as the two-fold revelation of the glory of God and the triumph of love over evil and sin, are indivisible.

Through close communion with the Risen Christ the Christian receives the power of Grace to strengthen his faith, to awake in him an answering love of God, to heal his will, to further his moral perfectionment, to prepare him for the eternal life to come.

4. The bodily resurrection to which the Christian may look forward is not simply being brought back to life, it is connected with a profound transformation (Gal. 6, 15) which, however, will not break the continuity of growth in holiness and religious and moral development (Rev. 14, 13), which begins in the conditions of our earthly life in a changing world and is closely bound up with the loving service of our fellow men

5. Being called to be "the salt of the Earth" and "the light of the world" (Mt. 5, 13-14) those who follow the Risen Lord should glorify God in all their personal, family and social life. They should be peace-makers, should proclaim the perfection of Him Who has called us from darkness into His marvellous Light (1 Pet. 2, 9), to fight against evil, seeking always to ennoble human relations and to help people to establish a reasonable order in the world and to transform it, to do away with enmity, wars, racial hatred, social injustice. Christian participation in the transformation of the world should be undertaken in obedience to the truth, in evangelical liberty, in a spirit of readiness to be labourers together with (1 Cor. 3, 9) and servants of God.



Representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church present at the talks at "Arnoldshain-V". From right to left: Archbishop Aleksiy of Düsseldorf, Professor Archpriest L. Voronov, Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod, Bishop Iriney of Baden and Bavaria, Bishop Mikhail of Astrakhan and Enotayevsk, Dotsent Archpriest N. Gundyayev.

**IV. "God and Man.
What has already been accomplished
in the new Creation and what still
lies before us?"**

According to the reports of **Professor Dr. E. Schlink, Professor Dr. Harbsmeier and Arch-priest N. Gundyayev.**

1. After the Fall of our forefathers God began to remake the world anew. This new creation is realised in the Personality of the Incarnated Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, the New Adam.

2. Jesus Christ, being obedient even unto death (Phil. 2, 8) and risen from the dead, revealed in His humanity the supreme degree of participation in the divine nature to which man is called. He is the beginning and the accomplishment of the new creation.

3. The new creation grows thanks to the fact that through faith in the Gospels, through baptism and the Eucharist, an ever-increasing number of people become participants in the death and Resurrection of Christ and serve the world around them by bearing witness to Christ and by works of love. In this way, the new creation grows within the Church as the Body of Christ and thanks to the Church's services to the world.

4. The new creation is propagated in ways that are hidden beneath human weakness (2 Cor. 12, 9-10).

5. The new creation will be revealed thanks to the second coming of Jesus Christ, Judge and Saviour of the world, and will be accomplished in the resurrection of the dead for eternal life and in the creation of a new heaven and a new earth.

6. Thanks to the presence of Christ the perfection of creation is to be felt and experienced now, even at this present time, first of all in Divine Service and in prayerful laudatory communion with our fathers and brothers (in Christ) the living and the dead, and also with the hosts of heaven.

**V. "The Cross and Resurrection
of Jesus Christ in Sacred Songs."**

According to the reports of **Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod and of Professor Dr. F. von Lilienfeld.**

1. In spite of the differences in language and in the chronology of the composition of the sacred songs of both Churches, the christological and soteriological dogma of the Cross

and Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ has entered fully into the doxology of our Churches, as was conclusively demonstrated in both reports.

2. Both the world of biblical images and their typological significance in the sense of Old Testament prophecy and of New Testament fulfilment have been absorbed into the songs of our Churches.

3. The variety of the history of hymnological spiritual and artistic creation in our Churches, of the poetic and musical expression of content, has given rise to thoughts on "the constant ringing true of the Gospel," on language, and on the psychological and cognitive equipment of modern man for understanding Divine Service.

**Professor Ernst Wolf
in memoriam**

In connection with the demise of Dr. Ernst Wolf, Professor of Fundamental Theology at Goettingen University, the Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad and Novgorod sent the following telegram of condolence:

**To the President
Dr. Adolf Wischmann
Frankfort-on-Main, the FRG
13 October, 1971.**

With profound sorrow we, participants in the Arnoldshain Talks, all of whom knew and appreciated Dr. Ernst Wolf, learnt of his unexpected demise. We will always remember our departed brother who was so zealous in uniting the forces of the Christians of our Churches in their witness and service to the world and to the brotherhood of a divided humanity. We fervently pray for the repose of the soul of the departed in the mansions of our Heavenly Father.

Metropolitan NIKODIM



On the FILIOQUE

(to the Discussion with the Old Catholic Church)

I. General Premises

In the present paper we discuss one of the points of divergence with the Old Catholics—the procession of the Holy Spirit.

The essence of the question may be briefly summarised as follows.

The Old Catholic Church has rejected the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son in the sense that it does not recognise this as a dogma and, as a result, has ruled out the insertion of the words “and from the Son” — *Filioque* as an addition to the eighth clause of the Creed, thereby leaving the Creed in the previous unchanged form in which it was set out by the Second Ecumenical Council. However, Old Catholic theologians wish to leave the formula of the *Filioque* as a permissible theological opinion and hold that this should not be an obstacle to solving the problem of a rapprochement between the Orthodox and Old Catholic Churches.

How should we, Orthodox, regard this intention of our brothers in Christ, the Old Catholics?

Might the formula of the *Filioque* be an insuperable obstacle to our rapprochement? Might it, while being excluded from the Creed, remain permissible in Old Catholic theological literature, or should it be finally deleted every-

where in the interests of rapprochement, and the very word *Filioque* be completely banished as unpronounceable from the category of the permissible?

In the present report there is no need to describe again the whole history of the meetings and talks between Orthodox and Old Catholics, particularly because quite recently, at the Pan-Orthodox Conference on the question of the dialogue with the Old Catholics held in Belgrade in September 1966, the representative of the Constantinople Patriarchate, Professor Emmanuel Photiadis, gave a brief survey of the meetings and their results in his opening address, beginning with 1874 right up to the Bonn Conference of 1931. This speech contains a fairly detailed account not only of these meetings, but also of the main resolutions adopted by this and that side.

The same Conference drew up a summary report which contains the following passage on the question of the *Filioque*:

“In 1874 in Bonn, and subsequently, the Old Catholics, having admitted that the addition of the *Filioque* to the Holy Creed was anti-canonical and unlawful and having agreed to delete it from the Holy Creed, announced at the same time that they would do this “without any detriment whatsoever to the doctrine expressed in the given Western form.” Hence it is clear that the Old Catholics, on the one hand, condemned this addition to the Creed of “and from the Son” as being entirely unlawful and agreed to remove it from the Creed, but did not venture to renounce the essence of the doctrine con-

This report was read at the meeting of the Inter-Orthodox Theological Commission on the Dialogue with the Old Catholic Church held in Bonn, the FRG, from June 22 to 28, 1971.

cerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as the indirect or secondary cause, or co-cause, which they considered to be still permissible in the field of theological thought in the form of a freely-held theological opinion and to confirm this opinion's right to existence they quoted the formula "through the Son" found in the writings of certain Fathers of the Church, which, however, the Eastern Fathers understood not as meaning "and from the Son", but in the Orthodox sense, which is still ascribed to it today by the Orthodox Church" (Report of 15 September, 1966, section IV, point I).

In all frankness it must be said that up till now, apart from some very sincere good will, of course, the talks held between Orthodox and Old Catholics have produced no real practical results.

At the IV International Conference of Old Catholics in Vienna in 1897 the representative of the Russian Orthodox Church, Archpriest Ioann Yanyshiev, expressed the view that such assemblies and conferences were useless, because they did not contribute to the possibility of union. This view was also supported by leading representatives of the Old Catholics.

What is the reason for this? Is the obstacle an undue respect for tradition which makes it impossible to overcome both mutual distrust and the fear of renouncing everything that has, as it were, been sanctified by time, even though it may not be divine, but purely human? Or is it impossible to find a common language through dry discussions of a subject which is incapable of being embraced by reason, for the subjects of these discussions are divine truths difficult of access for our ordinary, purely discursive thought? Or perhaps the formal atmosphere typical of these conferences, the cold, official, prepared speeches and reports, are not suitable for such elevated truths as the Church's doctrine of the Holy Spirit? After all, any discussion inevitably brings with it the spirit of polemic and the purely human desire to emerge victorious from a verbal dispute. Thus, all these circumstances would appear to be most uncondusive to the establishment of that spiritual atmosphere outside of which it is impossible to speak of the

Holy Spirit and His relation to the world and to man.

Verbal duels do not engender mutual love, and without this mutual love there is not and cannot be mutual understanding. If this is true in general, it applies even more so to communion in the Holy Spirit.

Let us recall the day of Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit descended to earth. The Apostles were bound to one another by "a union of love," and the Holy Spirit endowed them with the ability to proclaim one and the same truth in different tongues.

The aim of the present report is, firstly, to provide a theological analysis of the doctrine of the Orthodox Church on the procession of the Holy Spirit in order that our brothers, the Old Catholics, should be quite clear as to how we, Orthodox, regard that which we call the dogmas of the whole Church compulsory for all members of the Church, and that which is the province of free theological thought.

Since the subject of our discussion is the truth of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father, which is a dogma to the same extent for both us and the Old Catholics, we should first and foremost remember another unquestionable truth, equally accepted by both Orthodox and Old Catholics, namely, that human thought cannot, generally speaking, provide an accurate and full reflection of the mysterious and unfathomable life of the Holy Trinity and, in particular, the relations between the Hypostaseis of the Godhead.

All knowledge implies prior mastery of the subject. But human thought is capable of mastering, and that to a limited extent, only those things which are below it, smaller than it, and even then without the assurance that it will succeed in comprehending fully the nature of these things. A delightful phrase comes to mind belonging to one of the greatest Fathers of the Church, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, who laboured so hard to explain the subject of the Holy Spirit. In reply to a question about the "Procession of the Holy Spirit," the Holy Father replied: "Well, if you will explain the Father's 'ingeneracy,' I will give you a scientific account of the 'generation' of the Son, and the 'proces-

sion' of the Spirit; and thus let us both go crazy peering into the mysteries of God. Who are we to pry into such matters? We cannot understand what is in front of our noses; we cannot count the sands of the seashore, the drops of rain, the days of endless time (Sirach 1, 2). Still less can we penetrate the depths of God, and give an account of His nature, which is so ineffable, which surpasses our powers of reason"* (Oration 31, On Theology, 5, Vol. I, p. 448, Soikin ed.). And in another passage the same Holy Father, commenting on Plato's words "it is hard to comprehend God, and impossible to express Him in words", says "but to my mind, it is impossible to express Him in words, and even more impossible to comprehend Him" (Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 393).

We know God only to the extent to which He has revealed Himself to us, and also through our personal religious experience. God is Love, therefore we comprehend God least of all through cold, logical reflection.

"No thought, even the most learned theological thought, if it is not illumined and warmed by Christian love, will be Christian thought. Whereas in other fields of knowledge the heart is not always a reliable ally of reason, this is not so in the Christian religion of love, where the abiding of the soul in love and its fecundation by love is called abiding in light..." (*Bogoslovsky Vestnik*, 1905, On a New Temporary Obstacle to the Union of the Old Catholics and Orthodox).

Thus we are taught by the Holy Apostle Paul, who writes that God dwells "in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see" (1 Tim. 6, 16).

Consequently, the unfathomability of the Divine essence is one of the basic tenets of the Christian religion.

But "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath... spoken unto us by His Son" (Heb. 1, 1-2). The main thesis: "No man hath seen God at any time" is supplemented

by the following: "the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared Him" (Jn. 1, 18). Therefore, we may speak of the Holy Spirit only within the limits of that which our Lord Jesus Christ has revealed to us. Almost everything He said is contained in His parting talk with His disciples at the Last Supper, as it has been conveyed to us by His beloved disciple, the Holy Apostle and Evangelist, St. John the Theologian: "And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth (14, 16-17)... But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you (14, 26)... But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me (15, 26)... Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth; for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak; and he will shew you things to come. He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you" (16, 13-14).

* * *

In our Orthodox theology we distinguish three concepts: dogma, theologoumenon and private opinion.

There is no need to give an explanation here of what dogma is, since we, the Catholics and the Old Catholics all share the same concept on this question.

The procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father, as it is set out in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, is a dogma, and this dogma is equally accepted by us and the Old Catholics.

However, Orthodox doctrine does not limit itself merely to formulating dogmatic truths, but gives a certain scope to theological thought for fuller and clearer exposition of these truths.

Our Lord Jesus Christ brought us His Divine teaching. It was developed by his closest disciples in their Apostolic gospel, which thus contains the whole

* Translation by Henry Bettenson, The Later Christian Fathers, O.U.P., London, 1970, p. 114.

Revelation. But we know that from the very first days of the existence of the Christian Church the Apostolic Fathers, and after them the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, laboured to explain the truths given in the Revelation. Their ideas, based on the Divine Revelation, were a series of meditations on this or that question. The writings of the Holy Fathers exceeded the Apostolic gospel by far in volume, but did not introduce anything fundamentally new, any "new teaching," for in the Church there can be only One Teacher—Christ (Mt. 23, 8). The Holy Fathers developed Christ's teaching on questions of detail and expressed their ideas and explanations of many difficult passages. Thus, a theologoumenon is also essentially a theological opinion, but "the opinion of those, who mean more to any Catholic than simply theologians: it is the theological opinion of the Holy Fathers of the united undivided Church; it is the opinion of those Fathers, who include those rightly called "the teachers of the whole world" (V. V. Bolotov, *K voprosu o Filiokve* [On the Filioque], p. 31). We would emphasise here that it is difficult to apply the term theologoumenon to the opinions of Fathers who lived after the separation of the Churches, not because nothing of truth could be expressed after the separation, but because these opinions were no longer acknowledged by all Christians. They lack the sanction of the Ecumenical Councils. From this it follows that no theologoumenon can be equated with a dogma or, strictly speaking, be considered as absolutely compulsory for all, as a dogma is.*

* Professor V. V. Bolotov (1854-1900) wrote in this connection: "No one conversant with the subject has the authority to forbid me to accept, as my theological opinion, a theologoumenon expressed albeit by only one of the Church Fathers, provided it has not been proved that a competent Church body has already pronounced this view to be erroneous, but, on the other hand, no one conversant with the subject has the authority to demand of me that I accept, as my theological opinion, a theologoumenon expressed by several Church Fathers, if this theologoumenon captivates me not by its sublime theological beauty, but by the power of its argumentation. One thing is clear to me in the case in hand: even if I do not accept this theologoumenon myself, I do not have the right to criticise others for accepting it" (*K Voprosu o Filiokve*, SPb, 1914, pp. 31-32).

"Theological opinions" must be distinguished from theologoumena. The main difference between the two is that the former lack the authority of the whole Church. If the arguments put forward in favour of a private theological opinion seem unconvincing, they may be submitted to criticism, sometimes very merciless criticism, just as any proposition in science or philosophy. If one compares these theological gradations with scientific gradations, one might say, very approximately of course, that dogmas are like laws of nature, theologoumena like generally accepted theories, and private theological opinions like hypotheses. But such a comparison is naturally only approximate.

Everyone is free to choose private theological opinions, but not unconditionally so. Our freedom is limited by the absolute requirement that these private opinions should not conflict with dogma. If private theological opinions remain within the realm of the Holy Fathers' theologoumena, they are, by virtue of this, above all suspicion of contradicting dogma.

If a private opinion is only a personal opinion, however, it must be shown to be in accordance with the dogmas and general teaching of the Church. For this reason it is important that in discussions on the mystery of the Holy Trinity theologians should not leave the comparatively firm ground of the Holy Fathers' theologoumena for the shifting sands of theological opinions, and that, even in their wording, they should adhere to the Fathers' sayings.

While firmly upholding the principle that there must be no change in dogma, the Orthodox Church does not deprive its members of freedom of thought and allows freedom of opinion if this does not involve the distortion of dogma. Therefore, the presence of different theological opinions, even contradictory ones, by no means supposes violation of basic doctrine or disturbs any members of the Church, because it does not violate the normal life of the Church and takes place only in the sphere of theological enquiry.

Likewise the existence amongst Orthodox theologians of different views

on the procession of the Holy Spirit, if they do not contradict the basic dogma on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father, as from the one cause of being, cannot affect the life of the Church and should not lead to the separation of Christians one from another.

* * *

At the end of the last century the eminent Russian theologian V. V. Bolotov, a professor at the St. Petersburg Theological Academy, who played a most active part in the work of the Synodal Commission for discussion with the Old Catholics, pointed out that the breach between East and West began in the period after St. John of Damascus, when the theologians of both sides strove more for separation than for unity, and that each side was looking for formulas which they knew in advance would be unacceptable to the other.

Naturally we consider such a tendency to be highly reprehensible and quite out of keeping with the spirit of Christ's teaching, although we are bound to admit that it really did exist during the thousand-year history of the differences between East and West. Traces of it still made themselves felt in the 19th century, when the question of the points of divergence again became pressing in connection with the talks with the Old Catholics.

And perhaps it is no coincidence that among the Russian theologians who joined in the discussion of the *Filioque* in the 19th century there arose two trends: the irreconcilable one, which for some reason is usually called the conservative one, and the liberal one, which might now be called "ecumenical," although the word was not yet in use at the time.

The "conservatives" supported the view that the words "Who proceedeth from the Father" in the eighth clause of the Creed, should be understood as meaning "from the Father alone," without any reservations and should not be connected with the other formula "through the Son," which they related exclusively to the sending of the Holy Spirit into the world on the day of Pentecost. The "liberals" inclined to the

view that the formula "through the Son" referred not only to the temporal descent into the world, but also to the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit.

To our mind, the expressions "conservatives" and "liberals," although they may possibly be appropriate for assessing the actual members of this and that trend, are quite unsuitable for assessing theological opinions, which in themselves are neither conservative nor liberal. In character both trends were strictly religious and dealt with questions concerning God and his relation to the world, the solution of which, as is well known, cannot depend in the Orthodox Church on the spirit of the times; however, these two descriptions may continue to be used, not for the theological views, but only for their authors, since it is highly likely that the "conservatives" were to some extent afraid of any innovation in relations with the Western Churches and strove to keep Orthodoxy apart, whereas the "liberals" were seeking primarily to attain unity.

It must be said that the supporters of the "conservative" trend were, and still are today, somewhat guilty of being too ready to elevate to the rank of dogmas propositions accepted by them as incontrovertible truths or documents issued by authoritative persons. However, it is a fact that many propositions which seem unquestionable to one side are regarded as most questionable by people with different views. And documents, even most important ones, do not always deal fully with the subject. However true they may seem, one must not elevate them to dogma, not only as a matter of principle, but also for "economic" considerations, as they are called in our Church, i. e., for the sake of harmony in the Church.

The twentieth century has wrought many changes in the life of the Church in both West and East. Today we can say in all frankness, that none of us, Orthodox, is looking for or composing formulas which we know will be unacceptable to the other side. Incidentally, all the foregoing about "conservatives" not as theologians, but as advocates of isolation, does not cast the slightest aspersion on the Russian Orthodox

Church as a whole or its attitude towards the Old Catholics in the past.

All the resolutions of the Commission appointed by the Holy Synod may even be called "liberal" in the sense that they did not restrict free theological thought.

It was also in this spirit — granting freedom to theological thought on condition that it remained true to the dogmatic teaching about the single principle of the Holy Trinity — that the Commission on the Old Catholic Question framed its resolution in 1892 and its answer to the *Opinion of the Rotterdam Commission of the Old Catholic Church* drawn up in 1897. "We leave it to theological meditation and study", reads the 1892 document, "to explain the views of certain Holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church concerning the shining forth of the Holy Spirit 'through the Son,' that is, whether this shining forth from the Father through the Son relates only to the temporal sending of the Holy Spirit into the world, to breathe grace into the creation, or whether it should be understood as relating to the eternal life of the Godhead." The 1897 document contains the reservation that "theological opinions and reflections, relating to any dogma whatsoever, are admissible and desirable only insofar as they serve to explain it and make it accessible to human reason. Otherwise they should be avoided... With this restriction [rejecting the view of the Son as the second cause or co-cause of the Holy Spirit — *Author*] we leave it to theological meditation to relate the views of the Holy Fathers and Doctors concerning the shining forth of the Holy Spirit 'through the Son' to the eternal life of the Godhead, without however

identifying the concepts: ἐκλαμψις, φανέρωσις, etc., with the concept of the receiving of being — υπαρχις which the Holy Fathers considered as dependent not on the Son, but on the Father..." (quoted from a brochure by Professor M. Krasnozhen entitled *Proiskhozhdenie starokatolichestva (The Origin of Old Catholicism)*, Yuriev, 1898, pp. 33, 47, 48).

Today we are freer from separatist tendencies than in the 19th century, particularly because not only the Old

Catholic Church but also the Roman Catholic Church are sincerely striving for Christian unity.

We, Russian theologians, in this case are looking not for a compromise but for mutual understanding. We believe that at the present time both the Roman Catholic and the Old Catholic Churches are making great efforts to understand our Orthodox views on Church unity and have no intention of composing formulas which they know will be unacceptable to us. Both deliberate "conservatism" which dooms all negotiations to failure and unprincipled compromise are equally unacceptable at the present time to both sides. Both sides should adhere firmly to the dogmas contained in the Creed composed by the Fathers of the ancient, undivided Church, and not add anything to it that changes its meaning or is not contained in the Revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Both sides should show mutual respect for theologoumena which have grown up from the creative theological labours of both the Eastern and the Western Churches, as long as these theologoumena do not blatantly contradict the dogmas of the Church.

Both sides must respect not only theologoumena, but also private theological opinions, even though the latter may not coincide or agree with one another, for, as the history of the Christian Church clearly shows, some true and generally accepted theologoumena originated as private theological opinions and did not receive universal or local recognition until later. The presence of private, possibly even conflicting, theological opinions in this or that Local Church is an indication that thought has not withered there, that it is the fruit of sincere efforts and intentions to understand the truth on a broader scale.

Naturally theological opinion cannot contradict truths given in the Revelation, but the very nature of human thought is such that occasionally several points of view arise on the same subject, several conflicting opinions on the same sayings of our Lord. Who then is to arbitrate in such disputes? The conciliatory (sobornyy) reason of the Church, naturally.

II. On the Naming of the Divine Hypostaseis of the Holy Trinity and the Terminology of the Holy Fathers

We refer to the Divine Hypostaseis of the Holy Trinity by names taken from our everyday life: "Father," "Son," "Spirit." It goes without saying that we can understand these words only within the framework of our human concepts. These names were given by our Lord Jesus Christ Himself. He taught us about the Heavenly Father, called Himself His Only Begotten Son, and promised to send us the Holy Spirit from the Father.

When we utter our ordinary word "father," we think of this person as already possessing the qualities of a father, that is, as having a son. Consequently, we always think of these two concepts together. They are logically inseparable.

Let us now turn from our human reality to the meditations of the Holy Fathers on the Holy Trinity.

This is what we read in St. John of Damascus on this question: "We believe in one Father, the Beginning and Cause of all things, and begotten of no one.... The Father was never without the Son; but the Father was always with the Son Begotten of Him. For without the Son He could not be called the Father; even if He had existed at any time without the Son, He would not have been the Father. And if He had received the Son later, so He would have become the Father later.... We do not say that the Spirit is from the Son, but we call Him the Spirit of the Son: "Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his"—as the Divine Apostle says (Rom. 8, 9). We believe that the Spirit appeared and is sent to us through the Son.... But we do not say of the Son that He is the Son of the Spirit or from the Spirit" (St. John of Damascus, Russ. tr. of *De Fide Orthodoxa*, Moscow, 1855, Ch. III).

The Lord Himself presented to us the order of the Divine Hypostaseis of the Holy Trinity in which we, in accordance with His behest, name them. "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the

Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost..." (Mt. 28, 19). And since the Lord's every saying is full of meaning, we may assume that this order was not accidental, and that to some extent it discloses certain mysteries in the life of the Holy Trinity.

This has a direct bearing on our subject as well. We shall always speak of the Father before the Son, although we recognise the Son as being co-eternal. In the same way we shall also speak of the Holy Spirit as a Third Person. All this, however, by no means implies any form of subordination in the Holy Trinity or any kind of successive causal dependence, according to which the Father would be the cause of being of the Son and the Son the independent cause of being of the Holy Spirit. Our Orthodox theology has two private opinions concerning the order in which the names of the Divine Hypostaseis are enumerated.

One maintains that the order in which the Divine Hypostaseis are enumerated is only a reflection of their gradual revelation in time. The Son appeared in the world "when the fulness of time was come" (Gal. 4,4), and after His Ascension sent down to us the Holy Spirit. Therefore the order must be understood only in the sense of temporal and not eternal relations. It is the order of the Revelation and not of the origin of the Holy Spirit.

Even if logic compels us to place the Son always after the Father without allowing any intermediate stage, for there cannot be any intermediate third concept between the concepts of "father" and "son," it is inadmissible to speak of any priority, even logical priority, for logical priority is a reflection of ontological reality, otherwise it lacks meaning.

The other theological opinion is as follows. The logical connection of the "Father" and the "Son" is a direct connection.... Both concepts are unthinkable without each other. The logical connection of the Father and the Spirit is not so strong, because in saying "father" we involuntarily think of him as the father of a son, whereas no such direct connection exists between the words "father" and "spirit." We do not have, and the Lord has not revealed to

us, any special name for the relation between the First and Third Hypostaseis of the Holy Trinity, which would connect both names as directly as in the relation between the first two Hypostaseis, the "Father" and the "Son." The "Father" is first and foremost called the "Father" "of the Son" for the Holy Spirit as well. Thus we apprehend the revelation of the Holy Trinity as proceeding logically from the Father to the Son and through the Son to the Holy Spirit.

If we turn to the Holy Fathers, we see that they all adhere firmly to the order of the Divine Hypostaseis given in the Gospel: "The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son." "The Father is the Begetter of the Son and through the Son the sender of the Spirit" (St. John of Damascus). "The Holy Spirit is the seal and image of the Son, the image of the Father" (St. Gregory of Neocaesarea, St. Athanasius, St. Basil the Great, St. John of Damascus). "The Spirit of the Son, proceeding not from Him, but through Him from the Father," "And of the Son we say neither that He is (the Son—the Word) of the Spirit, nor that He is from the Spirit" (St. Maximus the Confessor). "The Spirit of God which accompanies the Word" (St. Gregory of Nazianzus and St. John of Damascus). "The Spirit co-originate with the Word and always accompanies the Word" (St. Theodoret the Blessed). Citing the above-mentioned reflections of the Holy Fathers, Professor Bolotov says: "All these passages, to my mind, inevitably lead one to conclude that Patristic opinion regarded the Son of God as logically preceding the Holy Spirit" (V. V. Bolotov, op. cit., pp. 84-85).

The following phrase by St. Gregory of Nazianzus gives us food for thought: "The original unity comes into action as a duality and reaches its final form as a trinity"* (quoted by V. V. Bolotov, op. cit., p. 83). Why does not the Holy Father simply say: The unity reveals itself in the Trinity? Why does he, the sworn opponent of Arianism, introduce a "chronological element" here, as it were, and point to it. For if one looks at

it purely formally, from the point of view of not allowing any temporal relations between the Hypostaseis and accepting that they are equally to be honoured, the statement "comes into action as a duality" is quite incomprehensible.

But we should understand it in the spirit of St. Basil the Great's theology. "And the Holy Spirit is ranked with the Father and the Son (because He is above creation), and is placed in the order which we are taught in the Gospel from the Lord Who said: Go ye therefore and baptise in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. And whosoever places Him before the Son or calls Him superior to the Father is resisting the injunction of God and is alien to the true faith, for he is not adhering to the laudatory order which he accepted, but is inventing innovations (literally: new wording) to please man.... But the Holy Spirit is not before even the only Begotten; for there is nothing between the Son and the Father. And if (those who support the opinion being refuted) do not accept that the Holy Spirit is from God and is through Christ, then He does not exist at all. So the innovation regarding the order (the place of the Holy Spirit in the Holy Trinity) leads to a rejection of His very Being and is a negation of all faith. Thus it is as ungodly to lower the Holy Spirit to the rank of creation as it is to place Him above the Son or the Father in either time or order" (quoted by V. V. Bolotov, op. cit. pp. 85-86).

The following statement by St. Basil the Great is also interesting: "The Holy Spirit is from God, but He is through Christ" (Ibid., p. 87). It compels us to conclude that if St. Basil held the view that the Holy Spirit was the Third Hypostasis in order of Revelation only, this statement would be meaningless, for the use of the same word *ἐκ* twice would signify different actions. However, judging by the whole context of his writings, there can also be no doubt that St. Basil would have objected to the *Filioque*.

Thus, in all these views of the Holy Fathers one senses recognition of some sort of logical "priority" of the Second Hypostasis. All this not only does not

* Trans. H. Bettenson, op cit., p. 116.

permit us to create a different order for enumerating the names of the Holy Trinity, but clearly demonstrates that this order is a reflection of their inner, imminent, mutual relations, beyond our comprehension, and not simply the order in which They were revealed in human history.

* * *

Now a few words about the actual term "procession." Both the "generation" of the Son and the "procession" of the Holy Spirit are, of course, words which throw only an approximate light on the mysterious life of the Holy Trinity. Taken from our everyday, earthly life they cannot, naturally, give a full reflection of a reality which is beyond our comprehension.

Therefore it is quite obvious that in the writings of the Holy Fathers there is not and cannot be a clear definition of these terms which denote the relations of the Divine Hypostaseis so approximately. Moreover, if one compares them, one sees that far less light has been thrown on the term "procession", than on "generation." This too is perfectly understandable. Our Lord Jesus Christ Who took on human flesh and became man, is naturally more comprehensible to us in a purely human way. Likewise in the works of the Fathers, when they speak of the personal qualities of the Divine Hypostaseis — "ingeneracy" "generacy" and "procession"—the first two are more comprehensible, whereas the third one is only a sign of some spiritual experience which has yet to be understood.

Thus, St. Athanasius the Great, although he wrote a great deal about the Holy Trinity, does not explain the distinction between the *εκπόρευσις* ("procession") of the Spirit and "generation" of the Son. Another father, also entitled "the Great," St. Basil of Caesarea, says of the Holy Spirit that "the form of procession remains inexplicable" (Father P. Florensky, *Stolp i utverzhdenie istiny [The Pillar and Confirmation of the Truth]*, Moscow. 1914, pp. 117, 121).

On the question of what is "procession," St. Gregory of Nazianzus states firmly that it is impossible for us to delve into these depths and judge about

things whose nature cannot be explained or expressed in words (P. Florensky, op cit., p. 682).

St. John of Damascus writes in *De Fide Orthodoxa*: "The Son of God... is called the Only Begotten because He alone was begotten of the Father, and begotten in a natural way; no other generation is like the generation of the Son of God, because there is no other Son of God. The Holy Spirit, although He proceeds from the Father, does so not by generation, but by procession. Here we have a different form of being, just as unfathomable and inscrutable as the generation of the Son of God..."

"... The Son is from the Father by generation. But the Holy Spirit, although also from the Father, is not by generation, but by procession. And although we are taught that there is a difference between generation and procession, we do not know what this difference consists of or what the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father are" (Russ. tr. of *De Fide Orthodoxa*, Moscow, 1855, Ch. VIII, pp. 21, 25).

In this connection the most distinguished Russian theologian and philosopher, Father Pavel Florensky, wrote: "All the Holy Fathers and mystic philosophers talk of the importance of the idea of the Spirit in the Christian view of the world, but hardly anyone explains anything distinctly and decisively. It is obvious that the Holy Fathers do know something; but it is even more obvious that this knowledge is so deeply down, so 'unresponsive to questioning,' so inexpressible in words, that they have not the strength to attire it in distinct words... Let us peruse the writings of the Holy Fathers, particularly the ascetic writings, where spiritual life is portrayed most vividly. We shall see a typical phenomenon: little is said about the Father, quite a lot about the Son of God, but most of all about the Holy Spirit. In spite of all this, one cannot avoid the impression that the holy ascetes have a very distinct knowledge of the Son of God as an independent Hypostasis, and that He is so close to their consciousness that He even overshadows the Father to some extent; they also know the Father, but they know little, almost nothing, about the Holy Spirit as

Hypostasis. Whereas the dogmatic Fathers show their inner uncertainty on the question of the Holy Spirit, their insufficient knowledge of His Hypostasis, by their indecision or silence, the ascetic Fathers reveal the same state of mind even more clearly by their abundance of words. For them—in a practical, everyday way—the Holy Spirit is “the Spirit of Christ,” “the Spirit of God,” a Divine sanctifying and purifying force... It is usually not the Holy Spirit Who is known, but His grace-bestowing energy, His powers, His actions and activities” (P. Florensky, op. cit., pp. 113, 123, letter V “The Comforter”).

Nevertheless there is much in the writings of the Holy Fathers of relevance to the subject under discussion.

III. An Analysis of the Patristic Formula “the Holy Spirit Proceeds from the Father Through the Son”

Let us now try to trace analytically the course of theological thought concerning the mystery of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and His relation with the Son of God.

In the period after the Ecumenical Councils theological thought on the procession of the Holy Spirit divided into two divergent streams. Under the influence of the ideas of St. Augustine, the Western Fathers developed the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit not only from the Father but from the Son also. The story of the insertion of this addition to the Creed in the Western Church is well known and there is no need to recount it here. To counterbalance this the Eastern Fathers, primarily Patriarch Photius, regarding such an interpolation without the sanction of an Ecumenical Council as impermissible, developed the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, thus extending their objection to Western practice to the fundamental issue of the debate.

The question arises as to what was in the minds of the Fathers of the Second Ecumenical Council, why did they not insert something in the Creed which would have made it possible on subsequent occasions to avoid disputes like this one on the *Filioque*, and why did

they not stress the view of many of their successors that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone? Instead of the extremely brief formula of the Council of Nicaea: “we also believe in the Holy Spirit,” they gave the broad, many-sided formula which we retain to this day: “And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the Giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father.” They considered that they had the right to change the Creed, although the Council of Nicaea had forbidden the composition of a new creed. Consequently, they must have believed that by expanding the text of the Creed they were not composing a new creed. But why did they not insert the words “from the one Father only”?

Possibly because the meaning of the formula was clear without this, and it would have been a superfluous addition to the Creed, which, as we know well, does not contain a single unnecessary word. The statement of one cause is an implicit rejection of any other cause.

Possibly they thought that this addition would sound ridiculous. If the logical emphasis were placed on the words “from the one” it would give rise to the question “but there can be no origination from two fathers, can there?”

Possibly it was because the statement “from the one Father only” would not have fitted in with the wording about the birth of the Son. If there is “Who was Begotten of the Father” in the second clause, it is only natural to have “Who proceedeth from the Father” in the eighth clause.

It is also possible that such an addition might have led to a rejection of the formula “from the Father through the Son,” so often used in their writings, which, in turn, could have resulted in its rejection in all senses, and this formula is a very important one.

Perhaps they did not insert it in the Creed because they thought it inadmissible to elevate a theologoumenon to the rank of dogma.

This is highly possible. For the Creed is dogma, i. e., it governs Church life, but a theologoumenon is a detailed theological conception which may remain unknown to the ordinary Christian. St. Augustine says: “It is enough for the Christian to believe that the cause of all created things, heavenly and earthly,

visible and invisible, is the goodness of the Creator, Who alone is the true God... and that He is the Trinity, that is, the Father, and the Son Begotten of the Father and the Holy Spirit Who proceeds from the same Father, but is one and the same Spirit of the Father and of the Son" (quoted by Metropolitan Makariy in *Pravoslavno-dogmaticheskoye bogosloviye*, Vol. I, Fifth edition, SPb., 1895, p. 307). After all, Pope Leo III, who agreed with the *Filioque*, nevertheless refused to insert it in the Creed, and placed two silver plaques with the Greek and Latin text of the Creed in Saint Peter's as a sign that the Creed is dogma and must not be changed. For the same reason, he would probably have made a clear distinction between the dogma "proceeds from the Father" and the theologoumenon "proceeds from the Father and the Son."

In the period after the Schism no one in the East considered it possible to make any additions to the Creed without the sanction of an Ecumenical Council, which is why the *Filioque* was objected to not only because of its essence, but also because the unilateral act of its addition was unsanctioned.

* * *

In the writings of the Holy Fathers we frequently find the expression: "The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son." How is this to be understood? Above all, what is the meaning of the preposition διὰ.

The eminent Russian theologian Metropolitan Makariy, author of a definitive work on theological dogma, gives a number of quotations from the Holy Fathers' writings containing the preposition διὰ. A look at these quotations shows clearly that this preposition has many meanings—"from," "through," "together," "after," "during."

Obviously if the same word has a variety of meanings, the translator must take into account what the writer had in mind and the context in which the preposition is found. The Holy Fathers always expressed the same idea, that there is one principle only in the Trinity—the Father. An example of the fact that the preposition may sometimes mean "with" instead of "from" is found in the following passage by St. Basil the Great. "The

Holy Spirit... is made known by the Son and together with (σὺν) the Son, and has His being from the Father. But the Son, Who together with (διὰ) Himself and by Himself makes known the Spirit Who proceeds from the Father, having shone forth from the ingenerate Light as the Only Begotten, by His distinguishing features has nothing in common with the Father or with the Holy Spirit" (quoted by Metropolitan Makariy in *Pravoslavno-dogmaticheskoye bogosloviye*, op. cit., p. 336).

* * *

What then is the theological meaning of the formula "through the Son"?

The expression "proceeds from the Father through the Son" often alternates with the expressions "shines forth" (ἐκλύμπει), "reveals Himself" (φανεροῦται) and "passes (προερχόμενον) through the Son, and "dwells" (μένον), and "rests" (ἀναπαύομενον) in the Son."

None of these expressions should be regarded as identical in meaning to *Filioque*. The formula "through the Son" is not equivalent to this formula. As we shall see later, however, in the context of the Holy Fathers' writings it is not confined to a single event—Pentecost. Thus the question arises: how are we to understand it?

In all honesty it must be admitted that the Holy Fathers' expression "through the Son" is hard to understand rationally and gives rise to considerable difficulties of interpretation in theological training, which by its character is always rationalist. Without this expression, we would find it easier to give an explanation of these relations. On the other hand, comparative easiness or acceptability in expressing Divine mysteries in ordinary language is by no means an indication of truth. One need only recall the history of all the theological disputes at the time of the Ecumenical Councils to agree that it was always the heretical conceptions which appeared outwardly to be the most acceptable, although they were false in content. All heresies were, in point of fact, purely rationalistic attempts to put into words the mystery of God Incarnate, which is not capable of being expressed fully by our ordinary concepts

used for everyday life, which is why these heresies may seem more comprehensible at first glance than true dogmas.

All attempts to rationalise dogmas are unsuccessful, as the history of the Church clearly shows. Dogmas do not fit into the framework of ordinary, formal logic, suitable only for static things, when A always equals A and the limits of this A are clearly outlined and easy to calculate once and for all. If it is difficult to find a formula for the Incarnation of the Son of God, it is even more so if one attempts to explain in everyday human concepts the doctrine of the eternal procession from God the Father of the Holy Spirit. Should one restrict the Spirit of freedom to the confines of philosophical concepts? Theologoumena are more rationalistic. This is what distinguishes them from dogmas.

The theological argument for the statement that the patristic expression "through the Son" relates only to the temporal sending of the Holy Spirit into the world may be summarised as follows.

In the words of our Lord: "But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father" (Jn. 15, 26) and particularly in the words "Receive ye the Holy Ghost" (Jn. 20, 22), there is nothing which refers to the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son also or through the Son. The sending of the Holy Spirit into the world is referred to here only as a forthcoming event in time. There are no other passages in the Gospel which state clearly and directly that the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father "through the Son."

Consequently, no view of the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit through the Son, even though it may be in a sense other than the causal sense, can be based on the Holy Scriptures.

Nor is there any reference to the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit "through the Son" in the earlier creeds. It is not to be found either in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, accepted by all Christians, or in the earlier creed of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus in which the words "the Holy Spirit, which has His being from God and which revealed

Himself through the Son" is followed by the explanatory words "that is, to people."

The following logical considerations are put forward.

Seen as relating to an eternal act this formula might:

a) come to be regarded as akin to the *Filioque*,

b) suggest certain temporal categories in the life of the Godhead,

c) on the other hand, the acceptance of this formula as relating to a temporal act only can safeguard the Creed from any attempt to justify the *Filioque*.

Consequently, say the advocates of this view, the Holy Fathers' expression "through the Son" must be accepted only in the sense of the Holy Spirit's temporal sending into the world.

The fact of the sending of the Holy Spirit from the Father through the Son of God to the world in time raises the question of the Son of God's right to perform such an act. If the Son of God sends the Holy Spirit from the Father to the Apostles, the question arises: did He possess this right eternally (although this process did not take place eternally) or did He obtain this right from the Father at a certain moment in time?

In this connection Metropolitan Makariy writes: "Firstly as is clear from patristic teaching, the Son sends the Holy Spirit and is Himself sent from Him, by virtue of Their common substance and Their mutual communion or participation in each other's actions (in support of which the words of St. Ambrose are quoted: 'the Son is sent by both the Father and the Spirit; likewise the Spirit is sent by both the Father and the Son,—consequently, if the Son and the Spirit send each other, as the Father sends Them, this is not the result of subordination, but of a sharing of authority') ... Secondly, the Son of God receives the right to send the Holy Spirit in time," continues Metropolitan Makariy, "because, as the Redeemer of the world, He has by His services to the eternal truth of God acquired the inestimable right to send men the beneficial gifts of the Holy Spirit for the rebirth and sanctification of sinners; for this reason the sending to earth of the Holy Spirit is seen in connection with

the glorification of Jesus Christ which followed only after the conclusion of His great work" (Metropolitan Makariy, op. cit., pp. 274-275).

To be quite frank, it is difficult to make these two statements tally with each other. If the Son and the Holy Spirit may, by virtue of Their common substance, send each other, how can there be any question of *acquiring* this right?

To say that the Son of God did not possess this right in eternity as the Son of God, generated in eternity, is quite inadmissible. The Son of God possessed all authority and power in eternity and has the same relations with the Holy Spirit in eternity. All the acts performed during the diminution of the Son of God on earth—the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Him during His Baptism and His sending the Holy Spirit into the world—cannot be acts which are not based in eternity.

What else may be said concerning this opinion?

Strict logic, not even necessarily applied to our subject, compels us to admit the following:

a) that which takes place in time does not confirm, nor yet does it exclude the possibility, that it may also take place in eternity;

b) that which takes place in time is pre-determined in eternity and may be a temporal manifestation of eternal reality.

If this is applied to our discussions on the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father through the Son:

a) the fact of the descent of the Holy Spirit through the Son in time cannot in itself either confirm or reject the fact that this procession may take place in eternity also;

b) nevertheless it suggests that, having taken place in time, it may be the manifestation of eternal relations.

There is only one place in the Gospel which can be unreservedly related to the temporal sending by God of the Holy Spirit. These are the words: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost" and the acting out of these words by breathing (Jn. 20, 22).

This saying of our Lord contains neither the preposition "from" nor the preposition "through," so it cannot be used

to support the view in question. There are also no grounds for associating it with the saying: "he shall take of mine" (Jn. 16, 15), for the latter refers to the future, and the former to something which is actually taking place.

From this historical fact it would be equally wrong to draw either opposite conclusion about the eternal relations of the Holy Spirit and the Son, either by inclining to accept the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father "through the Son," or "from the Son," on the one hand, or, on the other, by leaning too far towards the rejection of such a possibility.

* * *

Another view is that the Holy Fathers' expression "the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son" refers to the eternal relations of the Divine Hypostaseis of the Holy Trinity.

The Holy Fathers living at the time of the early Ecumenical Councils, to whose works we have recourse, were writing with the aim of eradicating all vestiges of Arianism and the doctrine of the Pneumatochi. Both heresies were essentially false doctrines about the Son and the Holy Spirit not being co-equal with the Father. Thus all the fierce polemics of the Holy Fathers were directed at overcoming subordinationist concepts. The First Ecumenical Council said a great deal about the Son. The second produced a detailed formula about the Holy Spirit as worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Son.

With regard to the relations between the Son and the Holy Spirit, this question was not so pressing, once they had been recognised as co-equal, although, of course, it had to be disassociated from Neo-Platonist and Origenistic concepts.

The view that the Holy Spirit "proceeds", "passes", "reveals Himself" and "shines forth" in eternity from the Father "through the Son," not in the sense of the *Filioque* nor in the sense of the purely temporal sending of the Holy Spirit to the world, is found in St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Maximus the Confessor, St. John of Damascus and St. Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople.

St. Basil writes: "The Son is always thought of with the Holy Spirit, inseparably, together. Although the Holy Spirit is united with the Son, His Being is dependent on a cause, that is, on the Father, from Whom He also proceeds. He possesses the distinctive feature, peculiar to Him alone, in His Hypostasis, that He becomes known after the Son and has His Being from the Father. But the Son, *Who reveals through Himself and together with Himself the Spirit proceeding from the Father*—He alone shines forth as the Only Begotten from the ingenerate Light" (V. V. Bolotov, op cit., p. 57).

St. Gregory of Nyssa writes: "For one is directly from the first, and the other through that which is directly from the first, so that the quality of being the Only Begotten remains undoubtedly with the Son, just as there can be no doubt that the Holy Spirit has His Being from the Father, because the mediation of the Son preserves His quality of being the Only Begotten, as well as not removing His union with the Father in substance." (Ibid., p. 58.)

Here is another passage from the writings of St. Gregory of Nyssa: "Assuming that we see a flame divided between three torches, and that the cause of the third light is the first flame, which kindled the last light by conveying fire through the middle light, we nevertheless find no difficulty in considering the third torch as a fire, although it was kindled by the preceding flame." "Thus," concludes St. Gregory, "the Holy Spirit also, although He is the Third Person of the Holy Trinity, is of equal status with the Father and the Son."

This is, of course, a limited analogy, suggesting a situation in which the Father and the Son are considered not two causes but pointing to the fact that the flame in all three torches is the same. Here is another passage which explains the preceding one: "In His Coming into Being the Holy Spirit is not later than the Son, in such a way that one might think of the Only Begotten as having ever existed without the Spirit, yet the Spirit has the cause of His Being from the God of all, from Whom the Only Begotten Light (the Son) also has His Being, yet shines forth through the true light" (Ib., p. 57).

This is what St. John of Damascus writes, summing up as it were all patristic views at a time when all the passions ignited by subordinationist heresies had died down. In Chapter XIII, Book I of his *De Fide Orthodoxa*, he says of the Holy Spirit: "He is also the Spirit of the Son, yet not from Him, but proceeding through Him from the Father, for the only cause is the Father" (quoted by Adam Zernikov, *Pravoslavno-bogoslovskiye issledovaniya ob iskhozhdenii Svyatago Dukha ot Odnogo tolko Otsa*, Vol. I, Pochayev, 1902, p. 563).

St. John replies to Manichaeus' objection as follows: "I do not say that God, not being the Father before, became the Father later, for He was *always* the Father, having His Word from Himself, and His Spirit which proceeds from Him (the Father) *through His Word*" (quoted by V. V. Bolotov, op cit., p. 65).

In his *Sermon for Easter Saturday* St. John writes: "We worship the Holy Spirit, as the Spirit of God and of the Father, and as proceeding from the Father, Who, however, is also called the Spirit of the Son, for it is through Him that the Spirit was manifested and took part in the creation—however the Spirit does not have His existence or origin from Him" (A. Zernikov, op. cit., p. 161).

From the passages quoted it is clear that St. John believes that there is only one single cause in the Holy Trinity and that the Father, always being the Father, likewise always had the Spirit which proceeds from Him through His Word. St. John's reference (third quotation) to the "manifestation" of the Holy Spirit through the Son for the creation of the world should not be related to the sending of the Holy Spirit into the world on the day of Pentecost. The participation of the Holy Spirit in the creation precedes the origin of time itself.

The *Definition of Orthodoxy by the Most Holy and Most Blessed Ecumenical Patriarch Tarasius*, accepted by the Seventh Ecumenical Council and approved by the Eastern patriarchs and Pope Hadrian, says: "I believe in one God the Father Almighty and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God and our God, Begotten of the Father in eter-

nity before all time, and in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father through the Son, the true God..." (quoted by V. V. Bolotov, op. cit., p. 64). Here the mediation of the Son is seen from the point of view of the possession of a common substance. If the Son is generated in eternity outside time, this means that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Father "through the Son" in eternity and outside time. To relate all these passages exclusively to the temporal sending of the Holy Spirit through the Son to creation would be to distort all these patristic opinions.

The Orthodox Liturgy contains the following expression about the Holy Spirit, that He "proceeds from the Father and dwells in the Son" (day of Pentecost, versicle for "Lord, I have cried"), which, undoubtedly refers to the eternal nature of this "dwelling."

Thus, our Liturgy—the treasure-chamber of theology—also supports the idea of this eternal and mysterious relation of the Divine Persons.

* * *

At a meeting in January 1893 of the Holy Synod's Commission on the Old Catholic Question, Professor Bolotov, clerk of the Commission, presented a paper which is well known to all those interested in the Old Catholic question.

In it he gives a detailed account of the question and the preceding discussions, and a fairly full summary of the whole dispute between East and West in the period after the Ecumenical Councils. He provides a detailed exposition of the main arguments of one of the main opponents of the *Filioque*, Patriarch Photius, and finds them ill-grounded in certain points. Professor Bolotov points out that Patriarch Photius was not familiar with the Latin Fathers and therefore assumed incorrectly that the *Filioque* crops up accidentally in their writings, whereas in fact it is a most widespread view in the West. Photius' conclusion that the Ecumenical Councils forbid additions to the Creed and therefore condemn the *Filioque* as a doctrine is not dialectically convincing, because the *Filioque* is found in the works of Fathers and writers who respect the Ecumenical

Councils and, it would seem, do not consider this view to be contrary to the decisions of the Councils. The idea that the Holy Spirit "proceeds," "passes," "appears," and "shines forth" from the Father "through the Son" is found, without any verbal approximation to the *Filioque* (even without the accidental substitution of $\delta\iota\alpha$ ("through") $\epsilon\kappa$ for $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$ ("from")) in Sts. Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, Maximus the Confessor, John of Damascus and Tarasius. The meaning of the patristic term "through the Son" continued to be a subject of dispute in Byzantium after Photius. Nicephorus Vlemmidis (13th century) writes that not long since, some of his countrymen, in the interests of the polemic against the *Filioque*, had begun to avoid using the patristic term "through the Son" and to explain passages about the "illumination" of the Holy Spirit "through the Son" as meaning that the Spirit was sent to earth through the Son.

Gregory of Cyprus, Patriarch of Constantinople from 1283 to 1289, strongly opposed the equation of the concepts "shining forth" and "procession." At the same time, however, he acknowledged "shining forth" to be eternal and supported this view by quoting Sts. Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Athanasius and John of Damascus.

It is possible to assume theoretically that the reason why the Eastern Catholic Church did not explicitly condemn the doctrine of the *Filioque* at any Ecumenical Council was simply that no one in the East suspected the existence of this opinion in the West, and that it would have been immediately condemned by the Church if anyone from the West had expressed it in the East, even in the form of a private opinion. However, Franconian monks in Jerusalem who accepted the Creed with the *Filioque* were questioned about it, but not condemned by the Jerusalem Church (this took place in Jerusalem in 808). Pope Leo III reacted to the incident by sending a message to the whole Eastern Church, stating that the Roman Church believed "in the Holy Spirit which proceeds equally from the Father and the Son" and threatening to anathe-

matise everyone who did not accept this. The Pope was not excommunicated by the Eastern Church, however.

Professor Bolotov presented for consideration his famous theses, the conclusions resulting from his painstaking analysis of patristic writings on the procession of the Holy Spirit, the essential points of which we feel bound to summarise here.

The Russian Orthodox Church regards as dogma only the truth that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and is consubstantial with the Father and the Son. The remaining details, since they are not identical in meaning with this truth, it accepts only as theologoumena (thesis 1).

The views that the Holy Spirit "proceeds," "passes" and "shines forth" from the Father through the Son are often found in the Holy Fathers. The formula "through the Son" is also sanctioned in St. John of Damascus' *De Fide Orthodoxa* and in the *Synodicon* of Patriarch Tarasius, adopted by the Seventh Ecumenical Council, the Orthodox Eastern patriarchs and Pope Hadrian. Hence this expression may be regarded not simply as the theological opinion of individual Fathers, but as a theologoumenon of the whole Orthodox East (thesis 2).

The assumption that the formula "through the Son" always refers only to the temporal sending of the Holy Spirit to the world to confer Grace upon creation leads to a strained interpretation of a number of passages in the Holy Fathers (thesis 3).

All this makes it possible to accept as a theologoumenon that the formula "through the Son" refers to the mysterious relation between the Hypostaseis of the Holy Trinity, and to understand it as a figurative description both of the identity of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit with the Father and of that unfathomable truth, albeit revealed in the Gospel, that the Holy Spirit is the Third and the Son the Second Person of the Holy Trinity (theses 4 and 5).

The formula "proceeds from the Father" (in the strictly theological sense of the word "proceeds") is not identical in meaning with the words "proceeds from the Father through the

Son," therefore the formula "from the one Father alone" can be accepted only in the strictest meaning of the term "proceeds," by relating it only to the receiving of being, and not in the sense of the manifestation of the Hypostasis of the Holy Spirit as already existing (thesis 6).

The formula "from the one Father only" is only a theologoumenon, not a dogma. It does not have the sanction of the Ecumenical Council, whereas the formula "through the Son" was confirmed in the Synodicon of St. Tarasius at the Seventh Ecumenical Council. Now is it to be found in a number of other important documents.

The Holy Fathers speak of the Son as "only Son of one Father only," but never use this formula in relation to the procession of the Holy Spirit. This may be because they feel the expression "the Holy Spirit proceeds from one Father only" might be contrasted with the theological view that the Holy Spirit "shines forth through the Son also" (thesis 7).

From the assumption, undisputed in the ancient Church, that the Father is the only cause of the being of the Holy Spirit, it follows that the Son is neither the cause nor the co-cause of His Being. It may be assumed that the Western view before St. Augustine did not differ from the Eastern one, and that therefore the *Filioque* was originally only an inaccurate form of "through the Son" (theses 8, 9, 10).

The expression "from the Father and the Son," as it is found in St. Augustine, "uno spirito" of the Father and the Son, does not fit in with the teaching of the Eastern Holy Fathers and cannot be identified with the Eastern "through the Son" even as a private opinion (theses 11-13).

The Western *Filioque* does not enjoy the same recognition as the Eastern "through the Son," which was proposed to the Seventh Ecumenical Council by St. Tarasius and accepted (theses 14-15).

Although widely accepted in the West, the only support it has there from the Holy Fathers is the authority of St. Augustine (thesis 16).

The Eastern Fathers have protested more seriously against the *Filioque* than

against "through the Son" (theses 17-18).

However, God moves in a mysterious way, and the Western doctrine of the *Filioque* was not condemned by the Eastern Church at the Ecumenical Councils. Many Western Fathers of the ancient Church who supported the *Filioque* lived and died in communion with the Eastern Church and the Eastern Church reveres them as its own Fathers. Patriarch Photius, who objected strongly to the *Filioque*, nevertheless remained in touch with the Western Church and was not anathematised by it (theses 19-25).

Hence it was not the question of the *Filioque* which caused the breach between the Churches, and therefore the *Filioque*, as a private theological opinion, cannot be considered an obstacle to restoring communion between the Eastern Orthodox and Catholic Churches (theses 26-27).

* * *

What conflicting views are we faced with in our final sunning-up? What theoretical co-ordination remains to be done?

At the one extreme of theological thought we have the formula of the *Filioque* in the sense of the immanent relation between the Divine Hypostaseis, that is, in the sense of the Holy Spirit having His Being (procession) from the Father and from the Son (even if the Father and Son are thought of not as two principles, but as one common principle).

At the other extreme is the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father only; the sending of the Holy Spirit to the world is regarded only as an act performed in time and not determining an eternal relationship.

If we entirely reject the extreme Western view, that the possibility both of two principles and of one common principle, we must then analyse what we have at the other extreme.

Here we find the following two theses:

a) since there can be only one principle of being in the Trinity—the Father, the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father only. The Son cannot be either the cause or the co-

cause of the being (procession) of the Holy Spirit;

b) The Holy Spirit is sent by the Son from the Father to the world to confer Grace upon creation in time (on the day of Pentecost).

However, our reading of the works of the Holy Fathers of the Eastern Church and their frequent use of the expression "the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son" makes it necessary for us to consider a third thesis, namely, that "the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father for the creation and sanctification of the world." The Son is not the cause of the Holy Spirit's Being, only, as it were, a condition of His procession to the world, which does not introduce anything into the unconditioned procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father outside time" (V. V. Bolotov, op. cit., pp. 37, 70).

Clearly this third thesis does not contradict the first two, but merely supplements them. It does not contradict the first because it deals with the condition, not the cause of being. Nor does it contradict the second, but merely adds to it, without being covered by it. Consequently, it has every right to be accepted with the first two.

This third thesis often passes unnoticed by both Catholics and supporters of the "conservative" trend. In all probability, this is explained by an incorrect understanding of time in its philosophical sense.

Time is something which exists only with the presence of the material world. The act of creating the world is also the act of creating time. The creation of the world and likewise the creation of time is for God an eternal act which transcends the categories of time itself. It is the eternal potential of God who exists before the beginning of time, although the actual creation of the world takes place in time (the "Days" of creation).

The formula in the Creed "proceeds from the Father," as a reference to the act of receiving being (procession) from the Father outside time, is not identical in the strictly theological sense with the formula "proceeds from the Father through the Son" which signifies neither the temporal nor the cau-

sal procession of the Holy Spirit as already existing (if the word "already" is appropriate here) from the Father through the Son for the creation and sanctification of the world.

The procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father in the sense of coming into being is, unlike the creation of the world, something which not only takes place outside time, but does not correlate with time at all. No temporal categories whatsoever, no temporal expressions even such as "eternal," are applicable here. And if we use such expressions, notwithstanding, it is only because our language does not possess words or concepts to describe this "procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and through the Son manifests itself.

The procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father through the Son, as the creative potential of God, is eternal. This potential is outside time, but gives rise to time and it is in time that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and through the Son manifests itself.

Therefore one must make a clear distinction between the purely temporal procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and His "eternal" co-participation in the creation and sanctification of the world, which takes place through the Son and is the cause of the existence of the world and the existence of time itself.

In the view of the Holy Fathers, this eternal creative procession to the world of the Holy Spirit through the Son, precedes His procession on the day of Pentecost for the sanctification of the Church.

Thus:

The Holy Spirit, in His Divinity, proceeds *from the Father* before all time.

The Holy Spirit proceeds *from the Father through the Son* eternally for the creation and sanctification of the world.

The Holy Spirit was sent *by the Son of God from the Father* on the day of Pentecost and since then dwells in Christ's Church, as in Christ's Body.

CONCLUSION

In the present paper we have attempted, above all, to find formulations

that would be acceptable to our Western brothers in the Old Catholic Church. We have tried to say that we want to understand them, and at the same time to explain our Orthodox doctrine, as far as possible from a point of view which might be close and comprehensible to people brought up in Western traditions.

The desire for any form of compromise is far from our minds, for it is a well-known fact that doctrinal compromises never led to unity. But we have attempted throughout, as far as possible to speak a language that can be understood by the Old Catholics and not to allow any formulations about which it could be said in advance that they would be unacceptable, in cases where acceptable ones may exist.

At the same time we believe that no theological opinion which contradicts dogma can be admissible among Christian theologians in general. In particular, no views conflicting with the dogma on the Holy Trinity can be acceptable. If we consider it as a dogma that the Trinity cannot possess two principles, we cannot allow this either in the Creed or in private opinions. Therefore the whole question turns on the Old Catholics' interpretation of this and the extent to which it can be seen to correspond with our Orthodox doctrine on the relation of the Divine Hypostases of the Holy Trinity.

The difficulty in reaching full agreement on such a complex question as the procession of the Holy Spirit, which the Holy Fathers described as surpassing human reason, is due largely to the fact that the Orthodox argument is based on the theologoumena of the Eastern Fathers, while the Western, in particular Old Catholic, arguments are based on a Western theologoumenon arising from the reflections of St. Augustine. But this is not the whole difficulty. The crux of the matter is that Western and Eastern theology have a different character, a different bias and different traditions.

The West has contributed a great deal to human culture in general and theological thought in particular. We are all familiar with the stages through which its philosophical thought has developed. One of these was Scholas-

ticism, which covered a fairly extensive period. Its main feature was rational reasoning. Western theology — not religious life as a whole, but only theological thought as one aspect of this life — naturally ran parallel to the development of secular philosophy. Here it must be noted that Scholastic thought in the West developed and gained ground in the period after the Seven Ecumenical Councils and particularly after the schism. This period has left an indelible impression on all Catholic theology. Coincidence or not, it is a fact that the doctrine of the *Filioque* which has a very rational character developed during the period of Scholasticism.

While he was still a young bishop, one of the most eminent Russian theologians of our time, the late Patriarch Sergiy, wrote in his fine work *Pravoslavnoye ucheniye o spasenii* (*The Orthodox Doctrine of Salvation*), that after the Schism the very spirit of Western theology became somewhat formal and divorced from the real life of the Church. The legal cast of mind which the Catholic Church inherited from Ancient Rome made itself felt in Catholic philosophy as well...* In order to discover the true essence of Catholicism, Protestantism or Orthodoxy one must look not at their theoretical teaching, but at their concept of life, their doctrine of personal salvation. The dogma of the *Filioque*, he wrote, undoubtedly touched upon the cornerstone of our faith, but did it, this dogma, express the whole of Catholicism, and should one assume that after its removal Western Christianity would agree to a reconciliation with us? It would merely mean the removal of one of the many points of disagreement, only one of the many causes of dispute would disappear, but the division would be none the weaker. For the *Filioque* is not the cause of Catholicism, but vice

versa (*Pravoslavnoye ucheniye o spasenii*, SPb., 1903, p. 4).

Eastern Orthodox thought at this time followed a different path. It proceeded mainly into the sphere of contemplative philosophy. The *Philokalia* is a splendid anthology of writings of the Holy Fathers from the preceding period in the life of the Church and the period in question. It contains numerous reflections on the Holy Spirit, His relation to the human soul and man's reception of Him. There is a great deal about this particularly in the writings of St. Macarius the Elder (301-391).

Here we find no scholastic discussion of the transcendental and immanent co-relations of the Divine Hypostaseis. The discussion here centres mainly round the relations between the Holy Spirit and the human spirit.

The Russian Orthodox Church received Christianity from Byzantium and, naturally, inherited the writings of the Eastern Fathers. A great deal has been said and written about this in our literature and it is all well known, but one must mention one particularly vivid example, the teaching of one of the greatest ascetes of the Russian Orthodox Church in comparatively recent times — St. Serafim of Sarov (1760-1833). His doctrine of the Holy Spirit is very similar to that of St. Macarius the Elder, and it is customary to refer to both as the doctrine "of the acquiring of the Holy Spirit." He was followed by other Russian ascetes — the Optino elders. "Acquire the Holy Spirit!" These words epitomise the whole trend of our theological thought, far removed from all scholasticism.

"St. Serafim of Sarov and the great Optino elders Lev, Leonid, Makariy and particularly Amvrosiy," wrote Father Pavel Florensky, "concentrate in themselves, as in a fiery focus, all that is sacred to the people. They are saints, no longer wholly monks in the narrow sense of the word. Through them, as through a telescope, the Future can be seen. Their whole inflection is new, special, apocalyptic. Only the blind can fail to see it. Frivolity and folly can only pass them by, not follow after them..." (Father P. Florensky, op. cit., p. 125).

Our Orthodox theology is primarily

* It must be admitted that this rationalistic spirit from the West has also penetrated our elementary theology. It is no accident that our textbooks contain a discussion of when the Son of God received from the Father the "right" to send the Holy Spirit (mentioned above). However, this rationalism did not extend further than textbooks and did not affect the life of our Church.

a Eucharistic theology in the sense that it is totally connected with and contained in the Eucharist.

During the Orthodox Eucharist we pray to the Heavenly Father to send down His Spirit upon us and the Gifts. At the moment of the transubstantiation of the Holy Gifts by the Holy Spirit, we do not think of the transcendental or immanent relations of the Divine Hypostaseis. All our prayers to our Heavenly Father are that He send the Holy Spirit to us and the Gifts.

Holy Communion, the heart and focal point of our religious life, leaves its mark on all our life, and consequently on our theology as well. The very nature of our theology may be called Eucharistic. The Eucharist is the subject of many of our theological works.

The attention of Russian theologians became focused not on that difficult (not only for ordinary people, but for learned theologians, too) formula of the procession of the Holy Spirit "through" or "not through" the Son, in the eternal sense which our minds cannot grasp, but on that which it is essential to know for our everyday life — the descent to the world of the Holy Spirit sent by our Lord Jesus Christ from the Heavenly Father, the resetting of the will of man in harmony with the will of God. Perhaps this explains why our textbooks give preference to the simpler view that the formula "through the Son" should be understood in the sense of the Spirit's temporal sending to the world, leaving aside the difficult question of the eternal, extra-temporal aspect.

It would be no exaggeration to say that when Russian theologians, both eminent and less eminent, and the great hierarchs, referred to the Holy Spirit in their writings, and the ordinary parish priests in their sermons, they almost invariably discussed not from Whom or how the Holy Spirit proceeds, but how we, Christ's disciples, should learn "to acquire the Holy Spirit."

It should also be noted that theological works on the *Filioque* were written mainly for polemical considerations, to order, as it were, in connection with the dispute with the Catholics or the talks with the Old Catholics. All writings

"from the heart," so to say, which were addressed to the flock, to their religious life, did not deal with the manner of "procession," but spoke only of "acquiring the Holy Spirit."

We, Orthodox, consider that our theological thought has followed a surer path than that of the West.

In an article entitled "What divides us from the Old Catholics?", the great Russian hierarch and theologian, Patriarch Sergiy, wrote: "If we are persuaded beyond all question that the Old Catholics, in deleting the *Filioque* from their Creed, are not merely performing a formal act and do not merely wish to smooth over the rough patches canonically but really believe in the single principle of the Trinity in the same Orthodox way in which the Holy Church believes in it, then, of course, we will not demand of the Old Catholics that they put their signature to the formula 'from the Father only.' We will even leave them the *Filioque* in the firm conviction that the latter is essential to the Western mind in order to express the same idea which we wish to stress with our formula 'from the Father only!'" (*Tserkovny Vestnik*, 1902, No. 43, p. 1347).

Today we Christians are all seeking for unity and mutual understanding, as can be seen from the powerful ecumenical movement, increasing with every year. And it is this striving for unity that must be foremost in our minds now, during our discussions. We are not searching for and do not propose to search for formulas, which can be seen in advance to be unacceptable to our brothers, the Old Catholics. On the contrary, our aim is to show how close we could come to them in our theological opinions on their doctrine and how we could appreciate, with all possible tolerance, their desire to leave the formula *Filioque* albeit as a private opinion.

We believe that the *Filioque*, whether it be true or false, grew out of sincere theological enquiry. Enquiry by no means always leads to the right conclusions, but in the majority of cases it is sincere. As in the present case. The ground for discussing the procession of the Holy Spirit was undoubtedly common ground both in the West and

in the East. But on this ground two different — yet similar — flowers came to bloom.

We could withdraw our objection to the existence of this theologoumenon with the Old Catholics, if they were to interpret it not in the sense of the presence of two causes or two identical principles, even though they may be united in a whole, but in a sense approximating to our Holy Fathers' "through the Son." With the reservation that it would then be up to the Old Catholics

themselves to explain this thesis in such a way that it did not conflict with dogma. It is up to the Old Catholics themselves to give this formula an interpretation which would conform in spirit and meaning both to the Holy Scriptures and to the dogmatic teaching of the whole undivided Church and would not contradict the Orthodox doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit.

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A. D. KASTALSKY

(16.11.1856—17.12.1926)



Alexander Dmitrievich Kastalsky was an outstanding Russian Church composer, the establisher of the Russian polyphonic choral plain-chant style in church music. This became the main trend in the singing of the Synodal Choir of the Cathedral of the Dormition in the Moscow Kremlin, and strongly influenced choral singing not only in Moscow churches but all over Russia.

Before the revolution A. D. Kastalsky was director of the Synodal Choir and principal of the Synodal School, and after the revolution he became director of the Moscow and Petrograd Choir Academies and a professor of the Moscow Conservatoire.

Kastalsky was a great authority on Russian folk and church music; he had a profound knowledge of Russian church chants and a superb command of the composition of Russian national choral music. He was also a major researcher of great originality in the field of early church plain-chants and specifically Russian national features in music. His writings represented a new chapter in the theoretical study of early Russian church singing and Russian folk songs.

The freeing of Russian church music from foreign influences (first Italian and later German) is linked with the name of Kastalsky. The struggle for a return to traditional national characteristics and to specifically religious music began in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and was reflected in the work of leading Russian musicians who were keenly interested in church singing—V. Undolsky, I. Sakharov, V. Odoyevsky, D. Razumovsky, N. Potulov, S. Smolensky, Archpriest Vasilii Metallov, and others. They worked for the re-instatement, above all, of the *Znamenny rospev* (early unison chant) and other church chants which were in wide use in the Russian Orthodox Church in early times. However, religious tunes contained in old hymnals were written

for singing in unison, whereas in the nineteenth century church singing polyphony predominated. It became necessary to arrange the ancient church chants for choral singing.

A search for such methods began. Soon two trends emerged. The first, headed by A. F. Lvov, inclined towards harmonisation on the basis of West European musical theory; this was seen in works by the followers of A. F. Lvov (G. Lomakin, P. Vorotnikov and others), published by the Royal Choir. The second trend which involved the use of a strict style of harmony, was represented by N. M. Potulov and his followers (V. Solovyov, N. Smirnov and P. Veikhtel and others). Both trends produced stylised church choir literature of a homophonic type, the ancient church chants being subjugated artificially to the academic norms of West European classical chord singing.

With this approach to the arrangement of ancient Russian chants their specific characteristics were lost and the melodies themselves were frequently distorted. It became clear that the results of the work done by the representatives of these two schools could not satisfy those who loved Russian church singing, and that the key to the arrangement of old church chants for several parts had not been found. In this connection Tchaikovsky remarked that the new way should be to return to the old tradition and to revive the old melodies with appropriate harmonisation.

The first of A. D. Kastalsky's works in the polyphonic interpretation of old church melodies, and his own composition of church music date back to 1896. In connection with this he said: "It was quite unexpected both to myself and to others that I became a church composer and even the 'founder' of an entire school.... Once as I looked through scores to choose repertoire for the Synodal Choir I tried to compare the melody of one 'It is meet...' in a Serbian chant with its original melody as recorded in the Serbian *Euchologion*, and I noticed that the arranger had obviously been incapable of dealing fittingly with a single one of them. Vasilii Sergeevich suggested that I should arrange one of the chants myself. Everyone liked my harmonisation.... This success en-

couraged me to tackle other chants." This marked the beginning of Kastalsky's work as a composer and researcher which was to continue throughout his life.

From the very beginning Kastalsky believed that he should move away from the choral style of church singing that had become accepted. He created compositions in which the entire texture comprised in fact a polyphonic fabric which stemmed organically from the basic melodic line, and in which there was no subjugation of voices to a single, highest voice. Kastalsky gathered extensive material on early Russian church singing and Russian folk songs, and made a keen and profound study of it throughout his life. He not only worked on the arrangement of the Russian *Euchologion* chants for the choir, he produced original work in a specifically Russian spirit and of a truly sacred character.

Some of the results and conclusions he arrived at in the course of his work were described in his *Practical Guide for the Expressive Singing of Hymns with the Aid of Various Harmonisations* (1909), *Specific Characteristics of the Russian Folk Music System* (1923), *The Fundamentals of Russian National Polyphony* (published in 1948), and in his article *My Musical Career and My Thoughts on Church Music* (1915).

Kastalsky was highly sensitive to the quality and character of the musical material. He based his arrangements on the inherent features of the melodic material itself and did not force this material into pedantic norms of singing and harmonic schemes alien to the very nature of the melodies. More than anyone else, Kastalsky understood the characteristic features of the ancient chants and was able to convey them by varying appropriately the style of the melodic design or the harmonic colouring. He became a great master of specifically Russian part-writing. In his arrangements of the *Euchologion* chants Kastalsky, keenly aware of their melodic essence, aimed at a polyphonic fabric that was created from the horizontal

¹ A. D. Kastalsky, *O moyei muzykalnoi karyere i moyi mysli o tserkovnoi muzyke* (My Musical Career and My Thoughts on Church Music), in *Muzykalny sovremennik*, 1915, No. 2, pp. 33, 34.

melodic movement conditioned by breathing. "Living sound and not the mechanical arrangement of intervening parts in the space between the top and bottom voices was the organisational principle of his music. It was the melodic functions rather than the harmonious that formed the basis of all his part-writing, which was always well-thought-out in vocal terms..." His mastery of part-writing, which was not abstractly correct but full of concrete, highly purposeful sounds, reached the acme of perfection; his methods and techniques of the "highlighting" and "colour accentuation" of the musical fabric should be held up as examples for musicians to study as is done by artists who study the "life of a composition"² directly from pictures by great masters.

The well-known authority on Russian church music, Antonin Vasilievich Preobrazhensky, wrote of Kastalsky that "his arrangements, and even more his compositions, were based in the majority of cases on various methods of popular and church choral technique with broad development of a system of supporting voices, variously-timed entrances of voices, cadences, rhythms and so on, and were especially close both to sacred and to secular melodies in their themes. Because of the close link between the meaning of the text and its musical presentation, and also because of the use of an elevated form of traditional church choir method, the work of Kastalsky also preserves its purely church character. In his hands an arrangement of a well-known church chant was not, however, a question of fitting an ordinary harmonic accompaniment to the melody but rather a highly artistic re-creation which gave the listener an opportunity to understand the entire beauty of the original."³

Kastalsky was a pastmaster at creating symphonious choral music, in other words, an artist who made broad use of the combinations and harmonies of various timbres and characteristics of the sound of various choral parts as a means of artistic expression. In creating a choral colour range, he achieved the heights of artistic perfection. "In addition to the Russian national characteristic of the music, it is necessary to stress

Kastalsky's remarkable ability to handle choral voices; he had no equal in this respect. His choral orchestration was truly virtuoso. Not only did the choir have a full, even, beautiful tone, but he was able to bring out all the nuances of the text by setting out all the musical thought in varying registers. His four-part choir is sometimes extended to include eight parts, and at times is so compressed that rich harmony gives place to unison, and all this is not only justified, it gives an impression of being natural, inevitable, and at any rate, extremely beautiful."⁴

In character and style Kastalsky's works are in full accord with the style of our early Russian churches and cathedrals and the works of the early icon painters. They are austere, true to the spirit of the church, melodious, elevated and full of religious feeling. "His 'musical identity' is rich, colourful and melodious, and at the same time is strictly canonical in its style: this is the way our great masters used to paint icons... He was equally sensitive to the resonance of colour as to that of the complex choral texture. And he could manipulate this resonance better than anyone else. He handled it like an austere sculptor, like a highly sensitive colourist with perfect feeling for 'painting with sound.'"⁵

In Kastalsky's work there was a diversity of themes and moods. Each new work was the realisation of yet another artistic conception. Kastalsky's work fully deserved the high praise accorded to him by Boris Asafiev, an eminent composer and music critic, who wrote: "Each new choral work of Kastalsky is a new gamut of chiaroscuro in sound, a new 'tone'—delicate or bold and forceful, full of gentle modulations or distinct, hard outlines; single-hued or lavishly shimmering..." "Kastalsky's

² B. V. Asafiev, *Russkaya muzyka ot nachala XIX stoletiya* (Russian Music from the Beginning of the 19th century), Leningrad-Moscow, 1930, p. 143.

³ A. V. Preobrazhensky, *Ocherk istorii tserkovnogo peniya v Rossii* (Essay on the History of Church Singing in Russia), 2nd edition, SPb., 1909, p. 60.

⁴ N. D. Kashkin, *Kontsert synodalnogo khora* (Concert Given by the Synodal Choir). A newspaper clipping pasted in A. D. Kastalsky's autobiographical notebook.

⁵ B. V. Asafiev, *O Kastalskom* (About Kastalsky), in *Sovetskaya muzyka*, 1956, No. 12.

strength, of course, derives from his insight into the melodic genius of the people and in his ability to use its characteristics, in his feeling for choral dynamics and his masterly choral part-writing. The rich sound which Kastalsky was able to achieve with the choir impressed listeners with its great variety of light and shade, wealth of colour, rich harmony and freshness of timbre. In the sphere of choral music, especially in the field of *Znamenny* chant so close to his heart, Kastalsky was able to create works of intrinsic value, the full wealth and meaning of which will be perceived by future generations of Russian musicians.... The guarantee of their long life lies in the fact that they do not constitute a stylistic exercise but an organically developed art."⁶ It was this art that became the basic trend in the new Russian church choir composition; it had its followers and influenced, for example, the religious aspect of Sergei Rakhmaninov's work, in his *All-Night Vigil*.

Writing elsewhere, Boris Asafiev continued: "In the work of A. D. Kastalsky, this great master of unaccompanied Russian singing, there developed a powerful choral culture of our century on a purely song basis, on the basis of the organic prerequisites of national Russian musical idiom and early Russian church melodies. In Kastalsky's work there was a fusion, an integral stylistic whole, of two streams of melodic intonations, and two spheres of manifestation of melody: the peasant art of song and early Russian choral art, preserved for us only in church chants."⁷

The emergence of the trend which Kastalsky created coincided in time with the spread of musical literature of a kind that in fact cluttered up the repertoire of church choirs. Kastalsky wrote on the subject: "The late P. I. Jurgenson and after him his followers, aware of the great need of church choirs, collected and continue to collect indiscriminately anything offered them by those who 'create' this type of music, in the hope that they might enrich choral literature in this way, if not in quality, at least in quantity. Indeed, the literature has become truly inexhaustible and rich, but... there is no order in it... Most of it is affected by the European influence

because this is easily accessible, and the specifically Russian element is often marred by awkward musical phrasing.... The reasons, to my mind, in both cases lie in the one-sidedness of musical education.... You may find *O Peaceful Light* starting with a deafening outburst, or the typically Russian *Znamenny* dogmatika with harmonisation suggesting the work of a worthy German; the free and easy use of techniques of secular song, and many other things; and much else, including a great number of simple pieces within the reach of modest choirs.

"But if a precentor decides to choose a repertoire in keeping with the various points of Divine Service, and to choose the melodies and their arrangements so that they are free of foreign—Italian or German—influences, melodies that are serious and profound in mood and acceptable as regards musical standard, then he will find himself in a difficult position because there is little to suit him among the mountains of printed and hand-written scores.

"And what about style? Our original church melodies as arranged for choir have been deprived of individuality. Listen to them—how stylish they are when sung in unison, and how pallid they become when sung according to the standard, cliché four-part form of our classics of whom we have been boasting for almost a hundred years now—pretty and sweet, but... false sounding."⁸

Kastalsky wrote about the tasks confronting Russian Orthodox Church music: "I am convinced that its task must be to give ideal form to the true church melodies, to elevate them into something lofty, something powerful in its expressiveness and close to the Russian heart thanks to its typical national characteristics. Perhaps our church music should find its expression

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ B. V. Asafiev, *Russkaya muzyka ot nachala XIX stoletiya* (Russian Music from the Beginning of the 19th century), 1930, p. 143.

⁸ A. D. Kastalsky, *O moyei muzykalnoi karyere i moyi mysli o tserkovnoi muzyke* (My Musical Career and My Thoughts on Church Music), in *Muzykalny sovremennik*, 1915, No. 2, pp. 36, 42.

in sequences of simple harmonies unusual to the modern ear, getting away from the eternal four parts; perhaps there might be here both unison and solo singing—but not the kind that the would-be connoisseurs admire. The inspired improvisations of early psalms—this is the ideal of a church solo. I should like us to have music of a kind that cannot be heard anywhere but in the church, that is, as different from secular music as ecclesiastical vestments differ from secular clothes.

“It would be desirable for church composers to picture the mood they should evoke with their music in the hearts of those taking part in Divine Service. Is it not here that the root of church music lies? The religious upsurge in the heart of the priest irresistibly transmitted to the congregation.

“On the other hand, it is not enough to have a thoughtful attitude towards the content of a particular element of the liturgy, one must make a great effort to feel the emotions in one’s heart. To express such moments clearly and strikingly, to reveal one’s emotions is given only to great artists like Tchaikovsky at the beginning of his *O Peaceful Light*, in the *Hymn of the Cherubim* up to *For we are now to receive the King*; as Rakhmaninov in his *We Sing Thee* and *Let our Mouth be filled*; as Rimsky-Korsakov in *Behold the Bridegroom* and *I Behold Thy Dwelling Place*, etc.

“When there is in it (church music) an even stronger inclination—one which has been more noticeable lately—towards more complicated form, towards ignoring difficulty of execution for the sake of effective sound, towards lack of discrimination in the choice of harmonic and melodic means so long as everything is new and beautiful, then all this will lead to a situation in which sacred music will be just like any other kind of music only supplied with religious texts. This would be highly regrettable.... Because we have an inexhaustible fount of original church melodies to which one cannot apply the usual hackneyed formulas and just any harmonious sequences. One should also discard the “touching” appeal of that sickly sweet minor key which was

once considered necessary even in *Praise ye the Name of the Lord* as supposedly expressing the repentance of the congregation for their sins, whereas in fact it only induced a feeling of depression. Our sacred melodies contain a national element, but turns of musical phrase from folk music should be introduced with great caution because a church is a church and not a concert hall or the street. The national colouring of Russian secular music was born of songs, and church music should be created and developed within the framework of our *Euchologion* chants. The over-contrived sweetness and the honeyed harmonies of modern music do not suit the church, either, though the ninth of Bakhmetiev and the augmented sixths of Turchaninov cause admiration and delight among those who like that sort of thing. A strict style of music would be of little help here—what we need is a strict attitude on the part of the composer to himself and his task.

“Only gifted composers can create good sacred music and even then only when they are entirely steeped in the spirit of the liturgical text and the special colouring of Divine Service.”⁹

Paying attention above all to the content of the liturgical texts, Kastalsky demonstrated the vast importance of early plain-chants for a musical setting in the Church which help the congregation understand and master the texts.

In his own work he seemed to synthesise the musical experience of his early predecessors who carefully preserved the Russian Orthodox traditions; he gave it the classical church form and at the same time national Russian polyphonic texture.

After the October 1917 Revolution Kastalsky did a considerable number of arrangements of Russian folk songs for choir. He saw these as interesting artistic and technical tasks which he proceeded to solve with his usual enthusiasm and skill. At the same time he continued to compose for the Church. During this period he wrote a cycle of sacred songs to be sung during the Patriarch’s and Archpriest’s services. There are the trio: *After Dividing My Garments*, *The Great Litany* for solo

and choir, and a new version of the *Good Thief*. He introduced corrections into many of his older works and the first half of the *Euchologion* of the Synodal choir; composed several *Many Years* and, finally, before his very death—his last work, *In Thy Kingdom*.

Kastalsky's first piece for church choirs appeared in print in 1897. Altogether he wrote 119 church compositions (both original compositions and arrangements), which include several entire cycles (*The Marriage Service*; *Lord, I Have Cried*, the eight-part *Znamenny* and Kiev chants; eight-part *Dogmatika*; a *Liturgy* for female voices; *Eternal Memory*—selected sacred songs from the Funeral Service; *From the Patriarch's and Archpriest's Service*; *Sacred Songs from the Services in Honour of the Holy Hierarchs of Moscow*; *Sacred Songs from the Service for the Feast of the Dormition*, etc.). Many of the pieces published by him were written in several variations for choirs of different kinds. In addition, he also composed a *Fraternal Requiem for Warriors Who Fell in the Great War*, for soloists, choir and orchestra, uniting various prayers for the dead of different faiths; the cantata *Verse About Church Singing* for mixed choir (based on the old church plain-chants); *The Fiery Furnace*—a morality play; *Examples of Church Singing in Russia in the 15th-17th Centuries* and other works. Kastalsky wrote the following books: *A Popular Teach-Yourself Manual of Church Singing* (publisher P. Jurgenson, Moscow, 1908); *A Practical Guide to Expressive Singing of Versicles with the Aid of Various Harmonisations* (publisher P. Jurgenson, Moscow, 1909); *Specific Features of National Russian Music* (State Pub-

lishing House, 1923); *The Fundamentals of Russian National Polyphony* (published in 1948).

A. D. Kastalsky wrote many articles dealing with the question of folk and church music. He compiled and edited the *Euchologion for the Synodal Choir* (part I and II). He edited, or helped to edit, and compiled numerous collections of sacred songs which were reproduced by lithography for the use of the Synodal Choir and which made up its repertoire.

We reproduce the following works of A. D. Kastalsky: *Today the Virgin, Znamenny Chant* (Third Part reproduced on inside front cover). This piece was composed for a medium-sized mixed choir (1898) and for a large mixed choir (1902). Both versions were published by the author as No. 7. In 1916 Kastalsky wrote a third version for a small mixed choir, which is a simplified version of No. 7, and which was published by P. Jurgenson as op. 80. In 1921 the composer made a number of corrections to this version relating to division into bars, some changes in the parts and shades of expression. We reproduce here the last version. The composer considered that *Today the Virgin* was the best of his series of Christmas canticles.

In Thy Kingdom (pp. 75-76 and inside back cover). This last work of A. D. Kastalsky was written as the composer lay dying. Whenever he felt slightly better, he would take up manuscript paper and, holding it up before him, would scribble in pencil. After his death the manuscript was found under his pillow. The composer managed to complete the piece, though it is in the nature of a sketch. It is published here for the first time.

⁹ *Ibid.*

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«ВО ЦАРСТВИИ ТВОЕМ...»

Музыкальный фрагмент песни «ВО ЦАРСТВИИ ТВОЕМ...».

Музыка записана в нотном формате (голос и фортепиано) с русскими текстами.

Музыкальный текст (слова):

Во ца-рстви-и Тво-ем по-мя-ни нас Го-спо-ди е-

во ца-рстви-и Тво-ем по-мя-ни

-гда при-и-де-ши во ца-рстви-и Тво-ем

Бла-же-ни ни-щи-и

-ни нас

Го-спо-ди.

ду-хом я-ко тех есть ца-рство не-бе-сно-е. Бла-

Во ца-рстви-и

Во ца-рстви-и Тво-ем у-

-же-ни пла-чу-щи-и я-ко ти-и у-те-шат-ся

-те-шат-ся

на-сле-дят зем-лю

Бла-же-ни кро-тци-и я-ко ти-и на-сле-дят зе-млю

About this song see on p. 78.

- сле - дят зе - млю

по мя ни нас

Бла - же - ни а - лчу - щие и жа - жду - щие

Го - спо - ди. Во

пра - вды я - ко ти и на - сы - тя - тся. Бла - же - ни ми -

ца - рстви - и

ца - рстви - и Тво - ем по - ми - ло - ва - ни бу - дут.

- ластви - ти я - ко ти - и по - ми - ло - ва - ни бу - дут. Бла -

ти - и

Бо - га у - зрят

- же - ни чи - сти - и се - рдцем я - ко ти - и Бо - га у - зрят.

Бо - га у - зрят.

Бла - же - ни ми - ро - тво - рцы я - ко ти - и

ТЕНОР

на_ ре_ ку_ тся. И_

сы_ но_ве Бо_жи_ и на_ ре_ ку_ тся. Бла_ же_ ни

БАСЫ *pp* на_ ре_ ку_ тся. Бла_ же_ ни и_ згна_ нни

згна нни

пра_ вды ра_ ди я_ ко тех есть ца_ рство не_ бе_ сно_ е.

пра_ вды ра_ ди. Бла_

Бла_ же_ ни

же ни е_сте е_гда по_но_сят вам и и_жде_нут и ре_кут всяк зол гла_гол на вы

лжу_ще Ме_не ра_ди. Ра_дуй_те_ся и ве_се_

лжу_ще Ме_не ра_ди.

Замедляя

ли те_ся, я_ко мзда ва_ша мно_га на не_бе_сех.

